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THE HISTORY OF THE LATE Revolutions of PERSIA:

Taken from the MEMOIRS of
Father *KRUSINSKI*,
PROCURATOR of the
JESUITS at ISPAHAN;
Who lived Twenty Years in that Country, was employ'd by the Biſhop of *Iſpahan*, in his Negotiations at the *Perſian* Court, for the EMPEROR and KING of *France*; and was familiarly converſant with the greateſt Men of all Parties.

Done into ENGLISH, *from the Original, lately publiſh'd with the Royal Licence at* Paris,
By Father DU CERCEAU,
Who has prefix'd a Map *of* PERSIA, *and a* ſhort Hiſtory of the SOPHIES; *with curious Remarks on the Accounts given by* TAVERNIER, *Sir* JOHN CHARDIN, *and other Writers that have treated particularly of that* Government *and* Country, &c.

VOL. II.

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The SECOND EDITION.

To which is added, an APPENDIX,
Giving an Authentic Account of the Dethroning of Sophi THAMAS, by his General THAMAS KOULI KAN; the Advancement of that General to the Imperial Dignity, and his many Victories over the *Turks* and *Moguls*, down to the preſent Year 1740.

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THE HISTORY Of the LATE Revolutions in *Perſia.*

PART II.

M*Yrr-Maghmud* and the *Aghvans* were never ſo near Ruin, as when they underſtood that General *Luſt-Ali-Kan* was at the Head of his Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Chiras*, and ready for a March to lay Siege to *Candahar*. This Army ſtruck the greater Terror into the Rebels, for that Part of it only had forced them in a City they had taken, and routed them with the Loſs of all their Baggage. They found they had to do with an able experienc'd General, who did not make War like a

Knight Errant, and who before he began his March for *Candahar*, had ſo well manag'd his Matters, both as to Time and the neceſſary Proviſions, that 'twas almoſt impoſſible for him not to ſucceed. They were informed that this General would be before *Candahar* while the Harveſt was yet ſtanding, which would be a great Prejudice to them; and that he was ſo well provided with all Sorts of Neceſſaries, that he could ſubſiſt his Army for ſeveral Months together.

All theſe Conſiderations, and the Proſpect of approaching Miſeries, which ſeemed inevitable, had ſtruck ſuch a Terror into *Candahar*, that all Mens Minds were bent to Peace. To forward this, the People were told what *Myrr-Weis* ſaid at his Death, which was, That in caſe the *Perſians* continued to harraſs them, they ſhould make Peace on any Condition whatever. The wiſeſt Part of the Nation, who conſented to the Revolt againſt their Wills, being hurried into it by the Multitude, and who lik'd it the leſs, for that they ſaw it tended only to the Advancement of a particular Family, were for taking hold of this Opportunity, and ſaid aloud, That they were now juſt in that Situation which *Myrr-Weis* himſelf, Author of the Rebellion, had mark'd out for them to put an end to this Affair by a good Agreement.

This was talk'd with the more Liberty, for that *Myrr-Maghmud* having loſt

Credit by his Defeat, and being embarraſs'd with a Siege he was about to ſuſtain, durſt but faintly oppoſe it. It made great Impreſſion on the People, who ſoon come to themſelves when they begin to be afraid. 'Tis indiſputable, that if *Luft-Ali-Kan* had arrived with his Army before *Candahar*, the City would not have ſtay'd till the laſt Extremity before it talk'd of an Accommodation, and that it would have ſubmitted with the whole Province before the End of the Campaign. But *Schah Huſſein*'s evil Deſtiny put him upon ruining himſelf in an Enterprize which would have eſtabliſhed him on his Throne. By hearkening to the Calumnies of two Traitors, who deſtroyed the firſt Miniſter, and General *Luft-Ali-Kan*, he deprived himſelf of the Counſels and Aſſiſtance of the two moſt able Men in his Kingdom, each in their Way.

When *Myrr-Maghmud* heard the ſtrange Tragedy that had been acted in the Court of *Perſia*, the Diſgrace and Impriſonment of the General, the only one of all the *Perſian* Captains of whom he was afraid; the Diſperſion of the Army, and the Waſte of all the great Preparations that had been made with ſo much Care and Expence for the Siege of *Candahar*; and ſaw that by the Imprudence even of thoſe who were moſt intereſted in his Deſtruction, he found himſelf deliver'd from the greateſt and moſt preſſing Danger

he

he had ever been in: he paſs'd all at once from the utmoſt Diſquiet and Deſpair to the moſt perfect Security, and the moſt flattering Hopes. He then reſum'd an Air of Command in *Candahar*, and ſoon effac'd the Impreſſions of Fear and Diſcouragement, which the approaching Arrival of a formidable Army, and the Threat of a Siege that could not but be fatal to them, had imprinted on the Minds of the People ſome Months paſt. And as the firſt Part of the Counſel of the late *Myrr-Weis* his Father had been made uſe of to incline their Minds to Peace and Reconciliation, ſo he uſed the ſecond to ſtir them up to undertake every thing againſt *Perſia*. He therefore repreſented to them, by himſelf and his Partiſans, that they were juſt then in the Situation mark'd out by the late *Myrr-Weis*, for them to attack the *Perſians* even in *Iſpahan*. That they had nothing to fear from the Court, who had done themſelves more Miſchief than their greateſt Enemies could do them. That they could not in a long time get ſuch an Army together, which they had lately ruin'd by their own ill Conduct; and tho' they could muſter ſuch an Army, they would never find a General of the Genius and Capacity of him whom they had lately diſcarded. That they had no Troops but what were broken ones, and no Captains but what wanted Experience; and they could now only oppoſe them with ſuch Armies, as for theſe ten or twelve Years paſt they had always beaten and put to flight.

This and the like Diſcourſes ſpread among the People with Dexterity, made the more lively Impreſſions upon them, becauſe the pitiful Conduct of the Court of *Perſia*, where ſo great was the Trouble, that no good Order was taken for any thing, gave them new Strength. However, Time was neceſſary for them to recover themſelves after ſo great a Conſternation of the People terrify'd with their Danger. Whereupon *Myrr-Maghmud* reſolved to ſhut himſelf in *Candahar* during the Year 1721, and to make it his Buſineſs to put himſelf in a Condition to defend the City reſolutely in caſe he was attack'd. In the mean while he would obſerve what Turn Affairs would take in the Court of *Perſia*, that he might form Reſolutions according to Events and Conjunctures.

He ſpent all the Winter in providing the Place with all Sorts of Neceſſaries. In the Beginning of the Spring, a Rumour of the Irruption of the *Leſgians* in *Szyrwan*, and the neighbouring Provinces, drew his Attention that way; and thence he had his Eye on the Court of *Perſia*, to ſee what Efforts they would make to defend the Frontiers. But when he ſaw them let the Spring, and the greateſt Part of the Summer paſs without ſhewing any Vigor againſt the *Barbarians*;

That they ſeem'd no more concern'd at the Ravage of their faireſt Provinces, than if they did not belong to the Crown; when he underſtood by his Spies and Correſpondents in the Court itſelf, that they were in a moſt ſtupid Dejection, and lamented their Misfortune without knowing how to remedy it; that they were in want of every thing; that they had no other Troops to act, nor Money to raiſe them, and no skilful Generals to command them; that every one wou'd excuſe themſelves, and avoid ſerving at a Conjuncture, where nothing but Diſhonour could be acquir'd; and when even, if there was any Hope left of doing ſome good, the Example of *Luſt-Ali-Kan* ſhewed that it was more dangerous to ſucceed than to miſcarry; that the King ſhut up, and, as it were, ſwallowed up in the Luxury of his *Haram*, where he endeavoured to ſhake off all Thoughts of his Affairs, and would not hear talk of them, thinking to keep from him the Evils which threatned him, by concealing them to himſelf, or making as if he did not know them; that every thing was at the Diſcretion of ſome Confidents and Eunuchs, Men without Genius, Knowledge, Experience, and as much oppos'd by the Publick for their Incapacity, as they were hated for their Pride and their Avarice; and that in fine, there was no Underſtanding in the King, no Zeal in the Grandees, no Truſt in the People, no Help in the Miniſtry; he imagin'd, that in ſo general a Diſorder, wherein all the Parts of the Monarchy began to be ſhaken, and the Provinces were abandon'd to the firſt Invader, it wou'd be his own Fault, if he did not come in for a Share of the Wreck of this Empire, and ſeize on the Provinces that were near his own, and commodious for his Government; and afterwards puſh his Fortune as far as it would go. He flattered himſelf, he ſhould meet with the leſs Obſtruction, for that the Prince of *Georgia* had taken an Oath never to draw Sword in the Service of *Perſia*; and he need not fear meeting *Georgian* Troops in his Way, which he thought the only ones that could thwart his Deſigns.

Upon this he drew his Plan, which was to begin with the City of *Kirman*, to ſeize it, and make it a Place of Arms: From whence he might advance into the Heart of *Perſia*. But this Enterprize being more than an Excurſion, required great Forces, and Preparations to ſucceed in it: He employed the reſt of the Summer, all the Autumn, and even the Beginning of the Spring, in aſſembling a powerful Army, and providing Neceſſaries for it. He ſo well concerted his Meaſures, that in *December* 1721, he found he had a numerous Army on foot, well ſupply'd with every thing, and ready to undertake whatever he would have them. He left his elder Brother in *Candahar* to command there in his

Abſence,

Abſence, and ſend him the Succours and Recruits he wanted; and marched himſelf at the Head of his Army towards *Kirman*, before which City he arrived in *January* 1722.

We muſt not proceed further in this Expedition of *Maghmud's*, till we have conſidered the Number of his Forces at his Departure from *Candahar*. This is a Point upon which 'tis incredible how many different Conjectures there are, and what appears moſt aſtoniſhing in it is, that even thoſe who were in *Iſpahan* during the Siege, are almoſt as far from the Truth, as thoſe who living out of *Perſia* cou'd not judge but by common Reports, and the Reputation of *Maghmud's* Exploits.

As the City of *Iſpahan* is the moſt famous in the *Eaſt*, and exceeds *Conſtantinople* in Bigneſs, Populouſneſs, Magnificence of Buildings, and Riches: When it was ſaid that the *Aghvans* had made themſelves Maſters of it, after having defeated the *Perſians* in twelve ſet Battels, a Circumſtance very remote from the Truth, and had compelled the King to ſurrender himſelf a Priſoner at Diſcretion; one had a Conception of *Maghmud* as another *Tamerlane*, who drew after him an Army of ſeveral Hundred thouſand Men, and ravaged the Nations like a Torrent, which nothing cou'd reſiſt; inſomuch that the *Turks* were alarm'd in the Extremity of *Egypt*. As to the twelve ſet Battels, they are reduced to one inconſiderable Battel, and two or three

Combats of four or five thouſand Men. The reſt were nothing but Skirmiſhes of two or three Troops of Horſe at the moſt. But as Renown magnifies Objects, and one judges of the Reſiſtance *Perſia* made, more by the Grandeur ſhe was formerly in, than by the Weakneſs and Annihilation into which ſhe fell during the Reign of *Schah Huſſein*, one could not but preſume ſhe muſt needs have been overwhelmed by a terrible Inundation of *Barbarians*.

On the other hand, the *Europeans* who were in *Iſpahan* in the Time of the Siege, and had Opportunities to obſerve the Camp of the *Aghvans* with their Spying-Glaſſes, could not diſcover above 14000 Men: Nay, ſome have ſunk ſo low as 8000 in their Calculations; which is not likely to be true, as to either of the two Numbers; for how could one of the greateſt Cities in the World, as *Iſpahan* is, be ſhut up by ſo ſmall an Army, that nothing could go in or come out? No body deſerves more Credit in this Matter, than the Author of my Memoirs. He was at *Zulfa*, a great Town inhabited by *Armenians*, half a League from *Iſpahan*; and he was the laſt *European* who left it to retire into the Capital, when the Rebels came to *Farabat*, which is almoſt contiguous to *Zulfa*.

He took Advantage of the Conveniency which that Situation gave him, to obſerve the Enemies Army very narrowly, while they were defiling off to enter *Farabat*, where it encamped. Beſides that he cou'd of himſelf get ſufficient Knowledge of them, he had ſtill more Opportunity to do it by his Acceſs to, and Favour with *Eſik-Aghari*, one of the General Officers of the Rebel Army, on account of Medicines which he gave him that did him ſome good.

He ſays then, that conferring one day with that General, and asking him, With what Number of Troops they began their Expedition? *Eſik-Aghari* anſwer'd, That when they departed from *Candahar* they were about ninety thouſand Men. Upon which the Author of the Memoirs inſinuating that ſome pretended to ſay they were not above fourteen thouſand, or eighteen thouſand Men at moſt, reckoning four thouſand Men of the Nation of *Bolves* which had joined them: And how, reply'd *Eſik-Aghari*, can one imagine we ſhould be ſuch Fools, as to come up to *Iſpahan* with ſo few Troops? There were above 14000, added he, who fatigued at the Siege of *Kirman*, and deſpairing of Succeſs, turned back and went home, and many dy'd at that Siege.

It is therefore certain, according to the Teſtimony of this General Officer, who had no Reaſon to overdo it in this Matter, that about twenty thouſand Men march'd from *Candahar* with *Maghmud* at his ſetting out;

but as the Author of the Memoirs obſerves, there muſt be compriz'd in that Number, not only all the Soldiers, but thoſe that took care of the Baggage, or were Servants to the chief Officers, and look'd after their Horſes; tho' the moſt conſiderable of the Army did not think it any Diſgrace to them to fodder and rub down their own Horſes. 'Tis very ſure, and unanimouſly agreed on, that there were 60000 Camels to carry their Baggage, and that ſo great a Quantity of Beaſts of Burthen required a great Number of Servants to manage them. 'Tis true, that in time they were made Soldiers, and the Slaves they took performed their Offices. 'Tis alſo certain, that tho' the Army conſiſted chiefly of *Aghvans* of the Province of *Candahar*, yet there was a good Number not only of *Aghvans* of *Hazary*, but alſo of *Guebres* or *Gaurs*, antient *Perſians* who worſhip the Sun, of Soldiers out of the *Mogul's* Country, and Adventurers of all Nations, who liv'd by pillaging, and engaged in Wars only for the Plunder. But in fine, every thing being well examin'd and weigh'd, the Author, who is a *Polander*, and had ſeen ſeveral Encampments of Armies of different Nations in *Poland*, ſuch as *Muſcovites*, *Swedes*, *Saxons*, *Coſſacks*, and others, ſays, that if a Judgment was made of *Maghmud's* Army by comparing it with thoſe he had ſeen in *Europe*, and with the Compaſs of Ground the like Encampments took in, the Number of *Maghmud's* may be about 40000 Men regular Troops. The News Papers make them 100000, which is more than double of what they were. Then we may ſafely reckon the Army, at its Arrival before *Iſpahan,* to be 40000 Men. To which if we add the 14000 that dy'd at the Siege of *Kirman,* or left the Service, being weary of the Fatigue, it may be computed that when *Maghmud* march'd from *Candahar* he had 54 or 55000 Men. But as he might have increaſed his Army by the Junction of freſh Forces, one can determine nothing with Certainty, as to their Number. At the moſt, when he laid ſiege to *Iſpahan,* it ſeems plain that he had not more than 40000 Men; which Siege was the moſt conſiderable and glorious Exploit in this great Expedition of the *Aghvans.*

Maghmud began it with the Siege of *Kirman,* which he ſurprized two Years before, and was driven from it a little while after by General *Luft-Ali-Kan.* I ſhall not enlarge on the Situation of that City, of which ſomething has been ſaid already, when Mention was made of the Check *Maghmud* met with there. But I muſt not omit giving ſome Account of the Condition it was in, when he beſieg'd it a ſecond time. This City muſt have been changed very much from what it was when *Tavernier* was there. For he ſpeaks of it as a great ruinated Village, and conſequently in no Condition to ſuſtain a Siege. When *Maghmud* attack'd it in 1722, it was divided into two Parts, the Upper Town and Lower Town. The latter made no Reſiſtance, being delivered to *Maghmud* by the Town *Guebres* or *Gaurs* that delivered it to him in his firſt Expedition. But the Upper Town was not ſo eaſily conquered: General *Luft-Ali-Kan* had ſo well provided it with all Neceſſaries for a Siege, after he had driven away *Maghmud*, as has been related, that it was now in a good Condition to make a vigorous Defence againſt the Rebels. It has been obſerved already in our Deſcription of the *Aghvans*, that as terrible as they are in the Day of Battel, and in the open Country, they are nothing ſo in Sieges, which they don't underſtand. They are not capable of ſubjecting themſelves to the Method of the *Europeans*, who gain their Ground Inch by Inch, as ſoon as they ſee no Way of carrying a Place by Aſſault; for after having made an Attempt on it, if they are repuls'd with Loſs, they preſently give over the Enterprize as impracticable.

This is what happened at *Kirman*, where the Upper Town made ſo brave a Reſiſtance, that *Maghmud* loſt abundance of Men there, and was forſaken by 14000 of his Forces, who diſcourag'd at their firſt ill Succeſs return'd back to *Candahar*.

Their Retreat made him fear that he ſhould be left by his whole Army, if he was obſtinately bent on the Siege; which determin'd him to march to *Iſpahan*, not ſo much in hopes at firſt to force ſo great a City, as to engage his Army to advance further into *Perſia*, that they might think no more of returning home. Perhaps he had alſo the Plunder of that City in View, which muſt needs be very great, the Riches of the Provinces that ſurrounded it being ſhut up in *Iſpahan*. But he had no Thoughts of laying a formal Siege to it upon his firſt Approach, nor flatter'd himſelf with being able to maſter it, after having miſcarried before a little City in the Province. However, he quite abandon'd his Deſign upon *Kirman*; and not having Troops enough to ſpare for a Blockade, he reſolved to deprive it of the Means of ſubſiſting, by ruining the Country all about it, which he believ'd would oblige the Place to ſurrender. As if a City, which had free Egreſs more Ways than one, could be reduced by Famine, whatever Ravages were committed in its Neighbourhood; which indeed made great Deſolation round the City of *Kirman*. From hence *Maghmud* ſet forward directly for *Iſpahan*. 'Tis about twenty-five Days Journey a Horſeback from the former City to the latter, according to *Tavernier*; and as the Difference is great between a Day's Journey for a Traveller, and that of an Army's March;

it muſt be fifty Days from *Kirman* to *Iſpahan*, or rather more, if we judge of the March of *Maghmud's* Army by that of *European* Armies. But as all the Troops in *Perſia* are Cavalry, and *Maghmud's* Army was compoſed of Nations accuſtomed to long Day's Journeys in their ordinary Excurſions, and had no Train of Artillery with them, there is great Likelihood that they made but 14 or 15 Days of it. 'Tis certain at leaſt by my Memoirs, that *Maghmund* came before *Kirman* in *January*; the Day of the Month is not ſpecified; and that on the eighth of *March* following he was within four Leagues of *Iſpahan*. Now ſuppoſing he arrived at *Kirman* the eighth of *January*, and was fifteen Days before the Place, he left it not till the 23d of that Month, which to the eighth of *March* make five and forty Days only. This March may be ſaid to be one of the boldeſt that ever was made, not ſo much for its Length, as for the difficult Ways, which for the greateſt part were vaſt Deſarts, on moving Sands flying about every where, as diſpers'd by the Winds. There was no Water all along, but what was kept in Ciſterns for the Uſe of the Caravans, plac'd ſo as to refreſh them when they put up at Night. But theſe Ciſterns ſerving only for Caravans of 4 or 500 Men, and 7 or 800 Camels, were nothing for an Army of 40000 Horſe, and 60000 Camels with Baggage.

We ſhall have a better Idea of the Riſk ſuch an Army muſt run in ſuch a Route, by knowing what happen'd to the Army of Sultan *Amurat* in a March ſhorter than *Maghmud*'s was, as from *Tauris* to *Iſpahan*. *Amurat*, as we are told by *Tavernier*, having taken and burnt *Tauris*, marched towards *Iſpahan* in 1638, in the Reign of *Schah Sephi*, then King of *Perſia*, who being informed that Sultan *Amurat* was advancing at the Head of an Army of 100000 Men, took no notice of it, and only ſaid coldly, Let him come, we know how to make him repent it, without being at much Pains about it. Accordingly he let him come within fifteen Days Journey of *Iſpahan*, and then, on a ſudden turning off the Springs every where before and behind his Army, which being conveyed through the Country in Canals was eaſy to do, above half of the *Turks* periſhed of Thirſt in the middle of thoſe vaſt Deſarts, where the Army of *Amurat* had imprudently engaged itſelf. The reſt retired ſhamefully, and with much Difficulty.

The Deſarts which *Maghmud*'s Army was to croſs in his March from *Kirman* to *Iſpahan* were more impracticable; but that Army had many Advantages which *Amurat*'s had not. The firſt, in that it was compoſed of Troops, who knew what Difficulties they were to encounter, and what Time the March would take up. So that they took the neceſſary Precautions againſt any notable Damage which might happen. The ſecond Advantage was, in that the *Aghvans* and the other Nations in *Maghmud's* Army were wont to live upon a very little; inſomuch that during all that long March, they contented themſelves with ſome Corn baked over the Fire: The chief Officers and *Maghmud* himſelf feeding no better than the Soldiers.

The Reſolution this Leader of the Rebels took to abandon the Siege of *Kirman*, and march to the Capital, was ſo ſudden, and ſo out of the common Rules, that it was not ſo much as dreamt of at *Iſpahan*. 'Twas reported, that after having had the Lower Town of *Kirman* betray'd to him, he had attack'd the Higher Town, where the Governor, who had Store of Ammunition of all Kinds, promiſed to defend himſelf all that Campaign, and longer. On this the People at *Iſpahan* depended; the more, becauſe they were not ignorant of the Unexpertneſs of the *Aghvans* in Sieges, and how ſoon they were tir'd with them. Thus it was not doubted, but that their Army would come to nothing; and they knew nothing of the contrary, till it was advanc'd within a few Days Journey of *Iſpahan*.

'Tis eaſy to conceive, what Aſtoniſhment and Conſternation this News, ſo little expected, muſt cauſe in a City, where no Precautions had been taken againſt an Enemy, who they thought was Nine hundred Miles off. Indeed how could they imagine, that *Maghmud* would hazard an Army of Forty thouſand Men in thoſe vaſt Deſarts, where the ſmalleſt Caravans cou'd hardly ſubſiſt.

Nevertheleſs, the Danger being ſo preſſing, Troops were rais'd in haſte in *Iſpahan*, out of thoſe People that were beſt able to ſerve. Theſe new Levies were joined with the King's Guards, and ſome old Troops then in the City, making together an Army of Fifty thouſand Men; which was ſufficient at leaſt to bear the firſt Shock of the Enemy, and keep them at a Bay.

When they were told that the Rebels were within a Day or two's Journey of *Iſpahan*, it was debated in the King's Council, whether to ſtay for the Enemy where they were, or go forth and meet them. The wiſeſt Men were of Opinion, that the City ſhould be cover'd by a Camp well fortify'd, from whence frequent Sallies might be made to inure the Soldiers to Action, without coming to a general Battel: That in the mean time all Paſſages ſhould be ſeiz'd to cut off the Enemies Proviſions; and it was proper to temporize, to draw the War out into Length, and give the Veteran Troops in the Provinces Time to come to the Aſſiſtance of the Capital. Others, on the contrary, whoſe Temper was more impetuous and violent, and who, according to the Manner of the *Perſians*, conſider'd ſider'd a Point of Honour more than the Safety or Ruin of the Kingdom, thought it a Diſgrace to them to temporize with *Barbarians*, who by the Raſhneſs of their Enterprize ſhew'd plainly enough, that they thought the carrying on a War like the Inroads and Robberies which they were wont to make on their Neighbours. They repreſented, that twou'd be an eaſy Matter to deſtroy an Army of Scoundrels, more us'd to plundering than fighting; and beſides, harraſs'd with Fatigue, and that they ſhould not be permitted to take Breath. They added, that Advantage ought to be taken of the Ardor and good Diſpoſitions of the new Levies and Voluntiers, who demanded nothing but Battel; and that that good Diſpoſition and Ardor wou'd ſoon be pall'd by the Tediousneſs of a Camp, if they were inclos'd in it as in a Priſon.

This Opinion was ſupported by the Generals, who, making ſure of the Victory, wou'd not let others have the Glory of ſaving the Capital, and purſuing the War; and was carry'd as the moſt noble and gallant Advice. Whereas the King's Intereſt, and the Security of the Kingdom, requir'd Counſels that were more uſeful and more ſafe. The Royal Army, purſuant to the Sentiments of their chief Commanders, advanced towards *Giulnabar*, a large Town, four Leagues from *Iſpahan*, on the Side the Enemy was approaching it; and without knowing the State of the Rebel

Army, their Strength and Deſigns, it was reſolved to attack them. The Choice of the Day was all the Difficulty. For this, Orders were expected from Court, after conſulting with the Aſtrologers for a lucky Day, which was fix'd on the 8th of *May*.

One of the greateſt Blunders committed on this Occaſion, was the dividing the Command of the Army between two Generals, who did not agree; one of them was called *Machmet-Wali*, the other was the new *Athemat Doulet*. *Wali*, in the Relation that has been before-mention'd, is put for the particular Name of their General, which is an Error; for *Wali* is an Office, like Lieutenant-General with us, who, tho' abſolute in his Command, depends on a Superior. Beſides theſe two Generals, there were two other Lords, who commanded each a particular Body; the firſt was *Mirza Roſthum-Kan*, Brother to the Prince of *Georgia*, who headed a Troop of 400 *Georgians* of the King's Guards. The ſecond was *Alimerdan-Kan*, one of thoſe Lords that poſſeſs'd hereditary Principalities in *Perſia*, whom the publick Voice preferr'd to the general Command of the Army, as being an Officer who was thought moſt worthy of it. He had under him a Battalion of old Soldiers out of his own Principality.

Before the Attack was made, the Manner of it was concerted by the two chief Generals, and theſe two Lords. It was agreed, that while *Roſthum-Kan* and *Alimerdan-Kan* attack'd the Enemy by Wings, each on his Side, *Machmet-Wali*, at the Head of 3000 *Arabs*, ſhould take the Rebels in Rear, and endeavour to ſurprize their Camp; and that then the other General, taking Advantage of the Confuſion which the breaking into their Camp would put them into, ſhould fall upon them in Front, and engage them with the reſt of the Army. Nothing could be better ordered; and the Rebels, as will be ſeen, had been totally routed, if each had done his Duty according as had been concerted. The two Lords, who were to give the Onſet, did it with Succeſs, and put the Enemies Wings into Diſorder. By this firſt Shock the Rebels were a little ſhaken; but they took themſelves to be utterly loſt, when they heard by the Clutter and Cries in their Camp that it had been forced, and that *Machmet-Wali* was Maſter of it. Thus they were now between two Enemies, and now was the critical Minute for deciding the Fortune of *Perſia*. *Myrr-Maghmud*, Chief of the Rebels, who rode an Elephant, ſaw better than any body the great Peril they were in, and ordered the ſwifteſt Dromedary to be got ready for his Eſcape, if a Change did not happen. 'Tis certain, as the *Aghvans* confeſs'd, that if the other General of the Royal Army had only had Patience to ſtand in Sight of the Enemy a quarter of an Hour longer, without being any thing more than a Spectator of the Battel, the Rebels had been utterly diſcomfited and deſtroy'd; and as they were in the middle of *Perſia*, and 400 Leagues from home, they could never have eſcaped, and not a Man of them would have returned to *Candahar*. But what will not Jealouſy do, even at a Time when common Safety requires the beſt Agreement? This General, who did not love *Machmet-Wali*, and concluded that the latter having forced the Rebels Camp, and by that means put their Army into Confuſion, would have the Honour of this great Victory, had rather all was loſt, than that *Machmet-Wali* ſhould acquire ſo much Glory. And having extended the Front of his Army in the very Inſtant when 'twas thought he was going to fall on, he turned his Back and fled before the Enemy had ſtruck a Stroke. The King's Guards finding themſelves abandon'd by the main Body, follow'd their Example; though their Commander, at the Head of ſome brave *Georgians*, his Countrymen, fought his way through the firſt Ranks of the *Aghvans*, who at laſt ſurrounded him, and being overpower'd with Numbers, after he had two Horſes kill'd under him, he was ſlain in the midſt of the Enemy. *Ali-Merdan-Kan* loſt one of his Brothers, and got off with a Wound. *Machmet-Wali* ſeeing the Diſorder the Royal Army was in, ſtay'd no longer to pillage the Rebels Camp which he had forced, but carry'd off

Maghmud's Treaſure, and joined the Royal Army in its Retreat.' In the *Mercury* for *November* 1726, this General is accus'd of being the Occaſion of the Loſs of the Battel; which is very falſe. He did not then betray his Maſter; and if the *Perſian* General had done his Duty as well as he did, the *Aghvans* had not now been Maſters of *Perſia*.

Such was the Succeſs of the Battel of *Giulnabat*, the moſt conſiderable that was fought till the taking of *Iſpahan*: The King's Army loſt but 2000 Men. The *Aghvans* had as many killed, and they did not purſue thoſe that fled, being apprehenſive of ſome Stratagem in ſo unaccountable a Flight; beſides, their Horſes were tir'd with their long March, and not fit to engage the freſh Cavalry of the *Perſians*, who in the above-mention'd *Mercury* are ſaid to have loſt 15000 Men, tho' the Author of my Remarks, who was on the Spot, reduces their Loſs to 2000. The Rebels remain'd entire Maſters of the Field of Battel, and the Royal Army's Camp, where were 25 Pieces of Canon, that had not yet been once fir'd, and where without reckoning the other Riches, *Maghmud* found the Military Cheſt, which made more than Amends for his Treaſure taken by *Machmet-Wali*.

'Tis the general Opinion of all thoſe that were capable of judging, that if *Myrr-Maghmud* had improv'd his Victory by purſuing the Royal Army to *Iſpahan*, he might have enter'd and maſter'd it the ſame Day without a Blow. For tho' the Loſs of 2000 Men was no great matter, yet the Rout of the King's Army had ſtruck ſuch Terror into the Citizens, that their Heads were almoſt turn'd with it. They ran away from their Houſes and Shops, which they left open: They abrndon'd to the Rebels whatever they had in the World, and ſtraggled up and down with Looks wild enough to frighten all they met, ſeeking out Holes to hide themſelves, and not thinking of ſhutting the City Gates, and placing Guards there. Afterwards when they did think of it, and forc'd Men to take Poſt there, they quitted it as faſt as they came, and ran away from the City.

But *Myrr-Maghmud*, who knew not the Importance and Extent of the Advantage he had got, had it not in his Head to attack *Iſpahan*. He remained quiet in his Camp ſeveral Days; and what ſeems incomprehenſible, the very Man who form'd ſo raſh and perilous an Enterprize thro' Deſarts horrible and dry, on purpoſe to inſult the Capital of one of the moſt powerful Kingdoms of *Aſia*, and who ſaw his Temerity crown'd with Succeſs by the Victory he had gain'd, did not improve it, becauſe he was wary and circumſpect, and even timorous; but when he had nothing to fear, and there was but one Step for him to mount the Throne, he ſeem'd to be afraid of his good Fortune; and while his Name made all *Iſpahan* tremble, and every Body thought he was juſt upon entring the City, he was the only Perſon who was diffident of his Succeſs, and durſt not truſt it any farther.

In the mean time, the *Perſians*, of whom ſeveral were preparing for Flight, detach'd ſome *Arabs* to reconnoitre his Camp, and ſee what was doing there. Theſe Spies found all Things in Tranquility, and ſo little Diſpoſition to go upon any new Attempts, that when they had made Report of it, ſome Soldiers were ſent to bring off the twenty five Pieces of Canon that were taken, which they accompliſh'd without Oppoſition from the Rebels. For, as they hop'd to return ſoon into their own Country, they did not mind them; and while the *Perſians* were thinking of flying on one ſide, the *Aghvans* thought of retreating on the other.

This Reſolution was the Reſult of a Council of War held after their Victory; where it was conſider'd, whether they ſhould advance to *Iſpahan*, and beſiege it; or return to *Kirman*, and make another Attempt on that City, which laſt was the Opinion that prevail'd in the Council.

They thought their Honour was concern'd in the Conqueſt of *Kirman*, which they had been forced to abandon. They flatter'd themſelves they ſhould eaſily effect it at their Return: for that they imagin'd the *Perſians*, diſcourag'd by their late Defeat, durſt not take the Field to relieve that City; and alſo for that having ravag'd and ruin'd all the Country about it, 'twas impoſſible to ſupply the Place with Proviſions. They therefore promis'd themſelves to reduce it infallibly by Famine; and their Intention was to canton their Army about it, and to make it a Place of Safety during the War. On the contrary, it appear'd not practicable to them to lay Siege to ſuch a City as *Iſpahan*. They doubted not but the whole Kingdom wou'd be in Motion to ſuccour the Capital; and they were not ſtrong enough to make head againſt ſo many Troops as would fall upon it from all the Provinces around it; nor well enough furniſh'd with Neceſſaries to run the risk of having their Proviſions and Ammunition cut off on all Sides.

Upon theſe Conſiderations it was reſolved to retreat, and march back towards *Kirman*; and the next eight Days were taken up in preparing for their Departure: all which time the *Aghvans* kept cloſe in their Camp. But to leave no Temptation for the *Perſians* to diſturb them in their Retreat, 'twas thought proper to give them an Alarm, to intimidate and keep them in Awe. Then with this View, the very Day on which they were to begin their March back, they ſent a Detachment of 9000 Men towards *Iſpahan*, as if it had been the Van of their Army advancing to beſiege it. This Detachment was order'd to inſult the City, and terrify it by a falſe Attack; after which they were to cover the Retreat of the Army, and ſerve as the Rear-Guard.

The Reſolution was accordingly executed. The 17th of *May* the 9000 Men advanced towards *Iſpahan*, and the Army was in a Diſpoſition to begin their March in the firſt Watch of the Night. The Camels were loaden, and the Army on the Point of marching to deliver *Perſia* from the greateſt Danger it had been in a long time, when *Schah Huſſein*, who to be freed from all Inquietude need only to have kept in his Palace a few Hours in his wonted Tranquility, bethought himſelf of a Step which coſt him his Crown; and that was, to ſend an Offer of a vaſt Sum of Money, if he would retire.

In the Evening of the 17th of *May*, a Day more fatal to *Perſia* than the 8th, on which ſhe loſt the Battel of *Giulnabar*, at the Inſtant when the Rebels were about beginning their March back, there came to their Camp an Expreſs from *Machmet-Wali*, the Generaliſſimo of the Forces of all the Kingdom. This Meſſenger had Orders to repreſent to *Maghmud*, in his Lord's Name, that he ſhould not give way to thoſe flattering Hopes, which his firſt Succeſs might have inſpir'd him with; ſince Fortune chang'd daily, and frequently did not open fair Paths, but to lead to Precipices;

that there was Danger, and conſequently Temerity in puſhing too far; and on the contrary, 'twas Wiſdom to know how to be moderate in Proſperity, and to ſecure the preſent, rather than be carry'd away with Views more diſtant: That if he was capable of giving into ſuch Sentiments of Moderation, and hearkening to friendly Counſels, he had it in his Power to return to *Candahar* with more conſiderable Advantages than he cou'd ever have propos'd to himſelf from the Fruit of the moſt happy Expedition: That he had brought the King to yield to ſuch a Condition of Peace in his Favour, as he would have thought himſelf happy to have obtained after ſeveral Years continual Succeſs. Which Conditions were as the King had order'd him to propoſe: That his Majeſty ſhould for himſelf, and all the Kings of *Perſia* his Succeſſors, renounce all Right to the Sovereignty of *Candahar*, and the Country its Dependences: That he ſhould acknowledge himſelf to be Prince and abſolute Maſter without depending on *Perſia*; and as he had Occaſion for Money to pay his Troops, a conſiderable Sum, to be agreed upon, ſhould be paid down at his Departure.

Theſe Propoſitions, which the *Aghvans* did in no wiſe expect, agreeably ſurpriſed them, by ſhewing them all the Advantages of a Victory, of which till then they knew not the Importance. Theſe Men who were juſt getting a Horſeback to return, and ſo far from thinking to oblige the *Perſians*, that they thought only of ſecuring their own Retreat, and wou'd have been very well ſatisfy'd to have ſtipulated that they might not be diſturbed in it, changed their Minds, as ſoon as they found that their Removal, which had been reſolved on by themſelves, would be ſo dearly bought. They imagin'd the Affair deſerv'd further Conſideration, and put off their Departure. A Council of War was held to examine the Matter, and to come to a Reſolution on the Propoſitions which had been made them.

The Council was much divided in Opinion about it, and the Difference of Judgments occaſion'd the putting it off; when one among them ſtarted a Medium, between thoſe who were for accepting the Offers of the Court, and thoſe who were for rejecting them. His Name was *Myangi*, and they all came into his Opinion, on which they had long ſet a Value. He was an *Indian*, had had the Care of *Maghmud's* Education, was very much eſteem'd, and not a little govern'd by him. The Credit he was in with this Chief of the Rebels, acquir'd him as much with the Nation, and gave him great Authority in Council, tho' he was a Foreigner. He repreſented, that if the Word and Faith of the *Perſians* could be depended on, they need not heſitate about accepting ſuch advantageous Offers: That they made War only to obtain, after abundance of Fatigues, what was offer'd them, to be freed not only from the Servitude of the *Perſians*, but from all manner of Dependance upon them, and to be reſtored to the full Enjoyment of all thoſe Rights and Privileges which their Anceſtors enjoyed before them. But conſidering what little Truſt there was to be put in a Nation ſo treacherous as that of *Perſia*, the Extent, the Strength, the Riches of that vaſt Monarchy; if they ſhou'd treat with them, he demanded, Who would be Guarantee of the Treaty? To whom ſhould they apply, to force the Court of *Perſia* religiouſly to obſerve ſuch Treaty, which ſhe made only to rid herſelf of a preſent Embarraſment, and gain Time? Who wou'd protect them againſt her Power, when being rais'd out of the Dejection into which ſhe was now fallen, ſhe came down thundering upon them with all her Forces? However, he did not thence conclude that theſe Propoſitions ſhould be rejected abſolutely, but that as they could not depend on the Sincerity of the *Perſians*, the Guaranty ſhould be contained in the Treaty itſelf, by inſerting a new Condition, which would ſecure the reſt; which was, That the King of *Perſia* ſhould give his Daughter in Marriage to *Myrr-Maghmud*, together with the Province of the *Aghvans* of *Haſaray*; that all the Nations of the *Aghvans*, as well thoſe of the Sect of *Omar*, as thoſe of the Sect of *Hali*, that were

Haſarayans, may be reunited under the Dominion of one Sovereign; which wou'd enable them the better to make head againſt the *Perſians*, if the latter ſhould attempt to moleſt them. That beſides this, the King of *Perſia* would not eaſily be brought to make War againſt his Son-in-law; and this Marriage would be a ſpecious Pretext to give a Colour to the Alienation of a Province, the Sovereignty of which he could not entirely aſſign over to another, if he had no ſuch ſufficient Pretext to diſmember it from the Monarchy, as the Settlement of his Daughter gave him.

Myangi's Counſel was receiv'd with Applauſe; and upon this an Anſwer was drawn up to *Machmet-Wali's* Propoſitions, and the Expreſs that came from him carry'd it to his Maſter.

This Anſwer contained Pretenſions which the Court of *Perſia* did not expect; and caus'd Suſpicions that the General had put the *Aghvans* upon making thoſe Demands, from theſe Conſiderations.

Machmet-Wali was Prince of *Hacvuza*, a Part of *Arabia*, dependent upon *Perſia*. His Territories, which are conſiderable, border on the *Aghvans* of *Haſaray*, and himſelf was of the ſame Sect with the *Aghvans* of *Candahar*; that is, of the Sect of *Omar*, the ſame with the *Turks*. His Father, thirty Years before, endeavoured to throw off the Yoke, and make himſelf independent of *Perſia*; and he was with ſome grounds ſuſpected to be deſirous of accompliſhing what his Father cou'd not; which rais'd a Jealouſy that he was ſecretly in the Intereſts of the *Aghvans*, to engage them to aſſiſt him in the Rebellion he was projecting; and as they were very powerful, their Aſſiſtance wou'd be a great Support to him, which might put him upon adviſing *Maghmud*, under hand, to demand the King's Dauehter in Marriage, with the Ceſſion of a Province bordering upon his own. There was further this Appearance of Treachery, that it was he who taking Advantage of the Fright the Citizens of *Iſpahan* were in on the Approach of the 9000 Rebels, had prevail'd with the King to make Propoſals to *Maghmnd*; who upon that had made a Stop, and ſent him ſeveral Propoſitions, which the King might not have heard of, if *Machmet-Wali* had not inſinuated what Demands he ſhould ask; not but that he behav'd like a gallant Man in the Battel of *Giulnabar*, as has been ſeen. However, his Chagrin to have the Victory ſnatch'd out of his Hands by the Jealouſy of the *Perſian* General, who ſo baſely and ſo unſeaſonably left him; and his imagining that the Affairs of the *Perſian* Court were not eaſy to be retriev'd, might diſpoſe him to think of making his Advantage of the Conjuncture and Succeſſes of the *Aghvaus*, to deliver himſelf from a Yoke which all Princes bear with Regret.

Whether the new Propoſitions came originally from the *Aghvans*, or not, 'tis certain the Court of *Perſia* did not like them; and that which ſeems very odd in it is that of the two Propoſitions, the one of *Maghmud*'s Marriage with the King's Daughter, the other of the Ceſſion of the Province of *Hazaray*, the King eaſily conſented to that which he ought to have made moſt Difficulty about with regard to Intereſt of State; and would not hear of conſenting to that which he ſhould moſt readily have comply'd with. As *Myrr-Maghmud* was already Maſter of a Part of the Province of *Hazaray*, which he had conquer'd; ſo *Schah Huſſein* thought he gave him nothing in giving him the other Part; but he would by no means agree that his Daughter ſhould be marry'd to a Rebel, who was not of the Blood Royal. His Delicacy here was very *mal à propos*; as if *Myrr-Maghmud*, who was no more to be look'd upon as a Rebel, but about to be acknowledg'd a Sovereign and independent Prince, was not otherwiſe as well deſcended as the *Moulahs* or Prieſts, to whom *Schah Abbas* II. Grandfather to *Schah Huſſein*, and *Schah Soleiman* his own Father, had with full Approbation marry'd the one his Siſter, and the other his Aunt, as we read in Sir *John Chardin*'s Travels, which I have often cited. 'Tis true, *Schah Abbas* II. marry'd his Siſter to a Prieſt, in Puniſhment for an

Intrigue ſhe had engaged in ; but when his Son *Schah Soleiman* marry'd another Siſter of *Schah Abbas* to a Brother of the ſame *Moulah*, or Prieſt, he did not do it for a Puniſhment ; and the Princeſs accepted of the Marriage without any Reſiſtance, as may be ſeen in *Soleiman's* Coronation, *p.* 245. and tho' *Soleiman* afterwards advanced thoſe two *Moulahs* or Prieſts to the Dignity of *Sedre*, that is, Archbiſhop or Primates, to make the Husbands of thoſe two Princeſſes more illuſtrious ; 'tis moſt certain they were no more than plain Prieſts when they marry'd them. *Schah Huſſein* therefore rejected the Marriage Article which related to his Daughter ; but to ſoften it a little, he offer'd the Rebels a Sum of Money in lieu of it.

The Facility with which the King conſented to the moſt important of their Propoſitions increas'd their Pride and Inſolence, and they inſiſted on the other Article the more for it. They alſo ſtood, in their turn, on the Punctilio of Honour every whit as *mal à propos* as the King had done. For tho' Fortune had given a good Turn to the Meaſures they took on this Occaſion, yet one can't help obſerving, taking things according to the Situation they were in, and the Uncertainty of Events, that nothing could be more impolitick. All the Country they demanded was yielded to them in Sovereignty, with immenſe Sums of Money ; and they might have gone home full of Glory and Riches : whereas in boggling about the Marriage Article, wherein *Maghmud* was particularly concern'd, they expos'd themſelves not only to the Loſs of all the Advantages they had obtained, but even to Deſtruction. It is true, that the Refuſal of a Marriage which they propos'd as a Cement of the future Peace, render'd the Treaty the more precarious; but that was not their Conſideration, they conſidered it only as their Honour was engaged in it. They thought themſelves deſpis'd by Men, who did not think them worthy of their Alliance; and the whole Nation took fire upon that: Inſomuch that an Accommodation, wherein the moſt eſſential Intereſts were provided for, was broken off by a falſe Notion of Honour, on which both Sides moſt imprudently piqu'd themſelves. The *Aghvans* would hearken to no Propoſitions, and renouncing all the Advantages which had been offer'd them, they reſolved to continue the War till they had forced the *Perſians* to grant them ſuch a Security for their Liberty and Independence as they ſhould require; or that a ſuperior Force obliged them to retire.

The Court of *Perſia* finding the Rebels were reſolved to continue the War, ſet about Preparations for the Defenſe of *Iſpahan*; and the firſt Step they took towards it was one of the greateſt Faults they could have made, and that which contributed moſt to the Loſs of the Capital of the Kingdom.

In the Beginning of this Hiſtory, Mention is made of a magnificent Country Palace, named *Farabat*, which *Schah Huſſein* had built at incredible Expence. This is the ſame Houſe which *Gemelli* calls *Karatabat* in his Travels to *Perſia, Lib.* I. *Chap.* x. but as to that and other things, one has more Reaſon to confide in a Man who liv'd 20 Years at *Iſpahan*, than in a Traveller who view'd things as it were *en paſſant*. This Palace ſtood a little League from the City, was encompaſs'd with very high and ſtrong Walls, and well mounted with Cannon. 'Tis certain, if a good Gariſon had been thrown into it furniſh'd with Proviſions, it might have been a Bulwark to *Iſpahan*, and have given the Enemy much Trouble. But not contented with giving them a Pretext to continue the War by boggling at an Article of their Propoſitions, they ſeemed to give them the Means of carrying it on at their Eaſe, and with all Commodiouſneſs. The firſt Reſolution they took when they underſtood the *Aghvans* were drawing near *Iſpahan*, was to abandon that Houſe; and they did it ſo precipitately, that they did not give themſelves time to draw off the Cannon to *Iſpahan*. So they bury'd it.

The *Aghvans* loſt no time in making their Advantage of this Fault. Some Squadrons which they ſent out for Intelligence, no ſooner learnt that *Farabat* was abandon'd than they haſten'd thither, and ſeiz'd the Place the 19th of *March* without the leaſt Reſiſtance from the *Perſians*. They were immediately followed by the reſt of the Army, who finding it to be a commodious Place for ſettling a Camp with Security, did there make a Settlement.

The Fault the *Perſians* committed in leaving *Farabat* to the Rebels, was not only a great Damage to the *Perſians* of itſelf, but in its immediate Conſequence the Loſs of *Zulfa*, a Town in its Neighbourhood. Before I enter into the Detail of theſe Tranſactions, I think myſelf obliged to give ſome Account of a Place, the taking of which was of ſo great Importance for the Siege of *Iſpahan*, and contributed ſo much to the Conqueſt of that Capital.

Zulfa is a large Town, big enough to be call'd a City, inhabited by a Colony of *Armenians*. 'Tis pretty near *Iſpahan*; and the *Armenians* came ſo far off to ſettle there on this Occaſion:

About 150 Years ago, *Armenia Major* was ſubject to the *Turks*; but not being able to bear the *Ottoman* Tyranny, it threw off the Yoke. *Schah Abas* the Great, who then reigned in *Perſia*, and was a Prince of an enterprizing Genius, watched all Opportunities to aggrandize himſelf, and did not loſe this. He gain'd the Love of that Nation by ſending them great Succours of Men, Arms, and Money to maintain their Revolt. When he had thus diſpoſed them in his Favour, he inſinuated that a Juncture might happen when *Perſia* would not be able to aid them, as much as ſhe was willing to do, and that his Succeſſors might not be ſo well inclin'd towards them; that they were not ſtrong enough to ſtand by themſelves, and if abandon'd would be in Danger of falling back to *Turkiſh* Servitude; that being ſituated as they were between two potent Empires, they could not ſupport themſelves, but by having a Prop in the one or the other: So that they had only to think which would be moſt eligible, whether to make their Peace with the *Ottomans* as well as they cou'd, if they believed they were to be truſted, or to yield themſelves up to *Perſia*, whoſe Government they knew to be infinitely more mild than the *Turks*, and with whom they might ſtipulate what they thought would be moſt advantageous for them.

While theſe things were talk'd of by the Emiſſaries of *Schah Abbas*, that Monarch ſhew'd a great Eſteem for the *Armenian* Nation, and even for their Religion. He was a very politick Prince, and would ſometimes let the *Armenians*, who came to Court, ſee a little Croſs he wore under his Robes, giving them privately to underſtand he was a Chriſtian in his Heart, but durſt not yet declare himſelf publickly for fear of a Defection in the Army; but if they once united to his Dominions, he ſhould think himſelf ſtrong enough to open his Mind freely.

Theſe Diſcourſes touch'd cloſely. The *Armenians*, an eaſy, ſimple People, believ'd every Word he ſaid, and yielded themſelves up to him; but when he was once Maſter of the Country, he thought of nothing but how he might make ſure of it; and to prevent any Moleſtations from the *Turks* on that Side, he reſolv'd to diſpeople that Province, and make a Deſart of it, to ſerve as a Barrier between him and the Grand Signior.

To execute this Project, he drew the *Armenians* out of their Country, and diſpers'd them up and down in *Perſia*. Thoſe of them that came from *Zulfa*, a City of *Armenia*, were canton'd near the City of *Iſpahan* on the other Side of the River *Senderou*, where they fix'd their Habitations, and in Remembrance of their native City gave the Place the Name of *Zulfa*. 'Twas a ſmall Town at firſt; but other *Armenians* removing thither afterwards from ſeveral Parts of *Perſia*, it became conſiderable; not only for Number of Inhabitants, but for its Commerce. *Schah Abbas* was one of thoſe Princes that are born to make a Kingdom flouriſh, and one of thoſe Genius's that extends their Cares to every thing. Wherefore finding the *Armenians* were a laborious People, capable of Application and Fatigue, and very thrifty, he thought they would be very proper for Commerce: But they being ſo impoveriſh'd by War that they could not ſet up any Trade, he lent them great Sums of Money out of his Treaſury without Intereſt. His Miniſters, narrow-ſoul'd Men, repreſented to him, that if he had a mind to advance ſo much Money, it was better his Subjects had the Benefit of it than Strangers, or at leaſt he ſhould have Intereſt for it. But *Schah Abas*, a Prince ſuperior to his Miniſters as much in Judgment as in Dignity, ſhew'd them that it was more adviſable to reſerve the *Perſians* for the Wars, and not let them degenerate by trading, for which they were in no wiſe proper; that they lov'd Expence, and after they had ſquander'd what he ſhould give them, they would go and ſettle ſomewhere elſe, and leave his Capital without Defence, as had happen'd to him before, according to *Tavernier*, Lib. I. c. 4. On the contrary, the *Armenians* were thrifty Men, good Managers, and being in the middle of his Kingdom, he had rather they ſhould be Traders than Soldiers. With reſpect to Intereſt, he convinced them that he ſhould receive more than they imagin'd; that if he put the Money, which lay dead in his Coffers, to Brokers at Intereſt, 'twou'd at moſt but bring him in 15 *per Cent.* whereas the Trade, which he was about to enable the *Armenians* to ſet up, wou'd produce *Cent. per Cent.*

'Twas with this View that he excepted them from Service in the Wars, but permitted to take Arms for their own Defence, when the *Perſians* fail'd in giving them neceſſary Aſſiſtance.

ſiſtance. There are other People in *Perſia* on the ſame Foot; that is, they pay certain Tributes, and are exempted from Military Services. Theſe are term'd *Raja*. As for the reſt, who pay no Tribute, ſuch as the *Georgians*, they are obliged to mount a Horſeback, and ſerve as often as the King requires them.

Schah Abas not only exempted them from ſerving in the Wars; but, that nothing might interrupt them in their Traffick, he tolerated their Religion, which was freely exerciſed at *Zulfa*, where are Abundance of Churches, as publickly as in any of the Chriſtian Princes Dominions in *Europe*. Further, to protect them againſt the Tyranny of his own Officers, and that they might have a Perſon at Court to ſupport their Intereſts, he appointed one among them, who under the Name of *Kielenter*, was Chief of the Nation. *Tavernier* calls him *Kelonter*, and *Gamelli Kalenter*. This Officer was as the King's Lieutenant at *Zulfa*, and had all the Authority. To gain him the greater Reſpect, the King allow'd him to have *Szatyrs*, a ſort of Sergeants on Horſeback; whereas others rode only Aſſes and Mules. He alſo aſſign'd him the laſt Place among the Grandees of the Court when the King feaſted them. In fine, he granted them all the Privileges which might contribute to their Security, and keep the *Perſians* from moleſting them. True it is, he tax'd them more heavily than when they were ſubject to the *Ottomans*; but then they were better able to pay by the Means which *Schah Abbas* had given them to enrich themſelves. There were among them, even under the later Kings, who were worth from 100000 to two Millions of Crowns; and there was one of them, who after he had laid out immenſe Sums on building Churches, *&c.* left at his Death above two Millions in Specie, without reckoning Jewels and other conſiderable Effects.

Thus was *Zulfa* an *Armenian* City; and ſo properly *Armenian*, that a Muſſulman was not ſuffered to live in it. Tho' generally 'twas called a Town only, it may very well have the Name of a City, on Account of its Bigneſs: And *Tavernier* himſelf, who makes it half a League broad, ſays, it might paſs for a pretty large City. *Gemelli*, who does not ſpeak of its Largeneſs, ſays, 'tis three Miles long, which according to his uſual Computation, make a League; and nine Miles about, becauſe of the great Gardens it encloſes. It is two Miles and a Half from *Iſpahan*, according to him; *Tavernier* reduces the Diſtance to half an Hour's journey for a Man on Foot. Both agree, that the Houſes are generally better built at *Zulfa* than at *Iſpahan*; of which *Zulfa* is to the South, ſeparated from it by the River *Senderou*; from whence there is a long row of Trees that reaches to *Iſpahan*, and at the End of it a fine Bridge over that River which leads to *Zulfa.* Beſides this Bridge there are three others ; one above that of *Zulfa,* and the two others below it. 'Tis difficult to ſay exactly how far the River *Senderou* is diſtant from each of thoſe two Cities. *Gemelli* does not ſpeak of it, and *Tavernier* contradicts himſelf; for having ſaid at firſt, that the *Senderou* runs between *Iſpahan* and *Zulfa,* at an equal Diſtance; he obſerves ſome Pages after, that *Zulfa* is not above three Musket ſhot from the Bridge which leads to it. This gives one Reaſon to think that the latter is much nearer the River than *Iſpahan* ; and for the Diſtance of the two Cities, it may be fixed by what the Author of my Memoirs ſays of *Farabat,* which is farther from *Iſpahan* than *Zulfa,* which by his way of reckoning is fifteen hundred Paces, or half a League diſtant. Theſe Particularities ſeem'd to me not improper, they relating to a City which was the Camp of the *Aghvans* all the while they laid ſiege to *Iſpahan,* and in my Opinion one cannot give the Reader too much in the Deſcription of Places which are diſtinguiſhed by great Events.

Zulfa being more commodious than *Farabat* for attacking *Iſpahan,* the *Aghvans* made themſelves Maſters of it the next Day after they ſeized *Farabat* : The *Perſians* accuſe the *Armenians* of Treachery, in delivering their City to the Rebels ; and the Author of my Memoirs apologizes for them. I ſhall only relate the Fact as to the taking of it; let the Reader judge of the Manner of its being taken, and to whom to impute it.

As ſoon as the *Aghvans* became formidable to the *Perſians*, the latter began to ſuſpect the *Armenians*, for no other reaſon than that they preſumed thoſe whom they had ill uſed, wou'd not be ſorry to change Maſters. It muſt be confeſt, that ſince the Reign of the great *Schah Abas* great Infringements had been made on their Privileges by his Succeſſors, yet none of them did it ſo enormouſly as *Schah Huſſein* had done. I ſhall not here enter into the Detail of their Grievances; 'tis certain neither their Lives nor their Eſtates were in Safety. Under the former Kings Juſtice was done them according to *Lex Talionis*; but ſince *Scah Huſſein* came to the Crown, the *Moulahs* pretended it was a ſhameful Thing that a Muſſulman's Head ſhou'd pay for an Infidel's, that is, in their Phraſe, a Chriſtian's. And on this Principle they got it to be eſtabliſhed, not by Law but Cuſtom, in all the Provinces, that every Muſſulman who kill'd an *Armenian* ſhould only be condemned to pay the Defuncts Family, for their nouriſhment as much Corn as an Aſs can carry. A new and fine Law this! Some Years before the taking of *Iſpahan*, a *Mahometan* Thief broke open a Houſe at *Zulfa*, and having pillag'd it, kill'd the Miſtreſs of the Houſe, with her ſix Children. The Neighbours running at the Cries of the Mother and her Children, who were murdered, and ſeizing the Thief, hurry'd him away with a great Noiſe before the King's own Tribunal, loudly demanding Juſtice, and inſiſting upon delivering the Murderer, that Vengeance might be taken on him according to the Cuſtom in *Perſia.* The Peoples Minds being much heated, Judgment was put off till next Day; when *Schah Huſſein*, by Advice of the *Moulahs*, who dictated the Sentence to him, condemned the Criminal to have only his Little Finger cut off in the Market-place of *Zulfa*, for a Murder committed upon ſeven Perſons; on the contrary, it would have coſt an *Armenian* his Life, if he had but wounded a Muſſulman, who was breaking open his Houſe.

I ſhall only add one Inſtance more, which, tho' not ſo odious, will however give one an Idea of the Inſolence of the *Perſians* with reſpect to the *Armenians*; of whom a very conſiderable Merchant, named *Stephen Kardelans*, having built a very high Wall, for the Security of his Houſe and Gardens, ſome *Perſian* Lords took it ſo ill, that they agreed together to break down the Wall, and enter his Houſe: Accordingly they came to *Zulfa*, attended with a good number of Men a Horſeback, having Flambeaus and Muſick; they demoliſhed part of the Wall, and got into the *Armenians* Houſe. 'Tis true, they ſtole nothing; but they drank there all Night long;

and tho' they took ſome Preſents he gave them, they broke his Arm when they went away, to let him know, as they ſaid, he muſt not think to defend himſelf by Walls from being beaten by them when they had a Mind to inſult him.

The *Armenians* might ſo highly reſent the Vexations and Tyranny of the *Perſians*, as to render themſelves ſuſpected by the latter, who had reaſon to apprehend that they would join the *Aghvans* as ſoon as they made their Appearance; and to deprive them of all Means of doing hurt, the *Perſians* diſarm'd the *Armenians*, making uſe of this Pretext for it.

It being dangerous to do it with a high Hand ſo near the Rebels Army, it was therefore proclaim'd at *Zulfa*, that the *Armenians* ſhould appear at *Iſpahan* with their Arms in as great a Body as they could; for that the King's Guards being order'd to march againſt the Rebels, his Majeſty would do them the Honour to place them near his Perſon. Purſuant to this Proclamation a numerous Body of them came to *Iſpahan*, where they were drawn up in Ranks, as if to be muſter'd, and immediately the Command was given, that they ſhould lay down their Arms, and return to *Zulfa*, with Menaces, that ſevere Fines ſhould be laid on all thoſe that were found to have Arms in their Keeping.

The *Armenians* of *Zulfa* are Traders, and have nothing in their Heads but Trade. They are far from being brave, as may be ſeen by one Example, which would have been hardly credible, if the Author of my Memoirs had not been an Eye-witneſs of it; He tells us, that travelling in the Year 1718, in Company with 200 *Armenians* arm'd, they were ſtopp'd by Robbers, not above eight in all, who demanded their Money; ſome *Armenians* of *Kanpalu* were of Opinion, that they ought to bind them Hand and Foot, and deliver them to the Governor of the next City; but the *Armenians* of *Zulfa*, who were the Majority, wou'd hazard nothing, and choſe rather to come to a Compoſition with the Robbers at three Piaſtres a Horſe, which two hundred Men paid to thoſe eight Thieves.

But had the *Armenians* been ever ſo brave, what Reſiſtance could they make againſt the *Aghvans*, when their Arms were taken from them? All they could do, when they ſaw them coming to *Zulfa*, was to give the Court notice of it, and deſire Succour. They even offer'd to maintain the Troops themſelves; but their Offers and Deſires were to no purpoſe. In the mean time the Army of the Rebels approaching nearer and nearer, they ſent Advice of it to the *Perſian* General, who promiſed them Aſſiſtance; but failing them in it, they were obliged to make the beſt Defence they could; and for two Hours together they ſuſtain'd a very vigorous Attack

tack in the Night-time. They thought of a Stratagem on this Occaſion, and made the Enemy believe they had a ſtrong Garriſon of *Perſian* Troops, calling one another, during the time of the Combat, by *Perſian* Names. They waited only for the promis'd Succours to ſally on the Rebels; but no Aſſiſtance coming, they were forc'd to ſtand on the Defenſive, and even to abandon a little Intrenchment thrown up in haſte, which the Enemy ſeized.

Tho' the Aſſault was over in two Hours, the Rebels attempted to ſurprize the City in the Night; and a Gaur, who was with them, having found Means to make a Hole in the Wall, big enough for his Purpoſe, an Elephant was brought up to it, and by Means of that Hole he threw down a good Part of the Wall.

Nazir-Ulla, one of the principal Officers of the *Aghvans*, commanded that Attack, and made himſelf Maſter of the Breach. However, he would run no farther risk in the Night-time; and, contenting himſelf with placing a good Guard there, he ordered his Troops to be ready againſt the next Day.

The Inhabitants of *Zulfa* ſaw then there was no heſitating about the Matter, nor any Courſe to take ſafer than to ſubmit to the Enemy; to which End they diſpatched the principal Citizens to the Camp of the Rebels, to make the beſt Terms they cou'd. Indeed they had ſtaid too long to procure very good ones; they were at the laſt Extremity; and the *Aghvans* Maſters of a Breach, which gave them Entrance into the City; ſo that they would grant them no better Terms than to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and to buy off their Lives and Goods for Threeſcore and ten thouſand Tomans, about 400000 Pounds of our Money. To which was added, that they ſhould deliver up fifty young Girls of the beſt Families of the *Armenians*.

Theſe Conditions, the laſt eſpecially, were very hard; but they muſt ſubmit to them, or be plunder'd; and the Delivery of the Girls being what could be ſooneſt done, that Article was firſt comply'd with. 'Twas a moſt moving Sight, to ſee thoſe poor Creatures ſnatch'd out of their Mothers Arms, and to hear the Shricks both of Mothers and Daughters. All the Women of *Zulfa* fill'd the City with Groans and Lamentations. Amidſt their Cries and Screeches the fifty young Girls were taken away, as the Lot fell, and carried to *Farabat*, the Enemies Camp. Their Cloaths, Gowns, Head-dreſſes, Diamonds and Pearls, were all deliver'd up with them, as had been particularly ſtipulated. Some of them were ſo affected, to to ſee themſelves in the Hands of *Barbarians*, that they died for Grief upon their coming to *Farabat*. Even the *Aghvans* cou'd not help being mov'd at this Accident; and

Pity finding Place in their Hearts, they treated them with more Humanity than one cou'd naturally expect from Men of their Character; for fearing others might alſo die in the Extremity of Grief, they ſent thoſe back that ſeemed in ſuch Danger; and after they were Maſters of *Iſpahan* they reſtored the Reſt to their Parents, there being much more beautiful Women for them in the Capital.

As to the Article concerning the Money, the *Armenians* very unſeaſonably raiſ'd Difficulties, and paid dearly for their Avarice; the *Aghvans*, as ruſtick as they were, being too cunning for them. The former pretending that their chief Effects were in *Iſpahan*, to avoid raiſing the Sum demanded; the *Aghvans* took them at their Words, and oblig'd the chief Citizens to give Bond for Payment of the ſeventy thouſand Tomans, either when the Capital was taken, or Peace was concluded, if the War ſhould end in a Treaty.

The *Armenians* thought they had made a rare Bargain, as thinking there would never be a Treaty, nor *Iſpahan* ever be taken; and if the *Aghvans* ſhould be defeated by the Succours that were coming from all Parts of the Kingdom, they would have other things to think of beſides forcing them to clear thoſe Bonds, which then would not do them much Service. The Argument was plauſible; but the *Aghvans* argu'd otherwiſe; and from the Uncercertainty of their Succeſs, did not ſo entirely depend on the Bonds the *Armenians* had given them, as not to take Meaſures to prevent their being totally fruſtrated of the Effect.

They therefore let the *Armenians* underſtand they did not believe there was Caſh enough in *Zulfa* to pay the Sum ſtipulated; but having Occaſion of Money, they would content themſelves with what was then in the City, and wait for the Reſt till the Time of Payment ſhould elapſe. To this End, the Houſes muſt be all ſearch'd; which ſhould be done very orderly, and a juſt Account ſhou'd be given of whatever was found, and Reſtitution made, after the Sum they were bound for was deducted. Such a Speech from thoſe in whoſe Power they were, convinc'd the *Armenians* they were out in their Reckoning, and had done better if they had paid the Money down, and not have expos'd their Houſes to be pillag'd inſtead of being ſearch'd; the pretended Searching being indeed a Pillage; which, excepting that there was no Murder committed, was accompanied with all ſorts of Violences and Cruelties, uſual in the Sack of Cities. The Rebels at firſt carried away all the Gold, Silver, Jewels and rich Moveables, they could lay their Hands on, after having narrowly look'd into every Corner of the Houſes. When nothing more was to be found, they put the Owners to the

Torture, to compel them to diſcover their hidden Treaſure. They haul'd them out of their Houſes, and baſtinado'd them on the Soals of their Feet till they cou'd hold out no longer, and in the Exceſs of Pains diſcovered what they had conceal'd themſelves, and what they knew was conceal'd by their Neighbours. There was one Citizen only, *Dominique Jaques Kardelans*, an ancient Man, of one of the beſt Families of *Zulfa*, who, tho' tormented more than any *Armenian*, having received above 4000 Strokes, and loſt the uſe of his Tongue for ſome time, could not be compell'd to diſcover any Perſon. He cry'd out, while he was under the Torture, *They might take all that was in his Houſe, but he knew not what belong'd to others.*

'Twas very difficult to ſave any Thing from ſuch rapacious *Barbarians*, who had made the moſt ſtrict Search every where. And it is generally thought, that what the *Aghvans* got by Plunder, far exceeded the Sum they demanded by Stipulation. They found in the Houſes of the *Kardelans*, Brothers, 60000 Pounds in Specie; and about 40000 Pounds in the Houſe of *Arat Cheriman*, one of the richeſt Merchants in *Zulfa*. The happieſt now was he who had leaſt. The *Aghvans* uſing Violence only to draw Money out of them, the Poor came off well enough. The Rebels ſold what they had plunder'd from the Rich to them at the meaneſt Prices; almoſt for nothing. Thus the preſent Revolution in *Zulfa*, made Beggars of the Rich, and rich Men of the Beggars. The Behaviour of the *Aghvans* ſhew'd, that they rather thought of making their Market, to be gone, than to lay Siege to *Iſpahan*; which they would never have attempted, had they not had Encouragement by Perſons even in the Court of *Schah Huſſein*, who was baſely betray'd.

Though the Court's abandoning the City of *Zulfa*, notwithſtanding the repeated Inſtances that were made for Aſſiſtance; and the cruel Treatment the Citizens had met with from the Rebels, was enough to vindicate their Fidelity; yet they were look'd upon as Traytors, who held Intelligence with the Rebels, and had deliver'd their City to them; and 'tis incredible how the *Perſians* were enrag'd againſt them for this pretended Infidelity.

Nothing however was more unjuſt than this Reproach, which the Court dwelt much upon, to lay on the *Armenians* the blame of an Event, which indeed cou'd not reaſonably be laid to any one's Charge but their own. Their Conduct, with reſpect to *Zulfa*, was ſuch, as every one muſt think was with a Deſign to let the Rebels poſſeſs themſelves of that City. The Court had not only taken the Citizens Arms away, and ſent them no Aſſiſtance; but alſo had hinder'd *Mirza Sefi*, the King's eldeſt Son, from aſſiſting them, as he was preparing to do; for when, diſarm'd as they were, they defended themſelves againſt the *Aghvans*, that Prince, who at the Head of a great Body of Cavalry, was marching towards *Zulfa*, to ſupport them, the *Perſian*-General laid hold on the Bridle of his Horſe, ſaying, the King would not ſuffer him to expoſe himſelf, for fear any ill Accident ſhou'd happen to him, which would diſcourage the Army. It has always been thought, that the falſe Politicks of the Court ſacrific'd *Zulfa* and the *Armenians* to the Safety of the Capital; in an Opinion, that when the *Aghvans* had loaded themſelves with Riches, they wou'd march off with the Booty they had got. Theſe Political Refinements are like Chymical Remedies; one runs great Risk in making uſe of them. The Miſchief of ſuch Faults in Policy is, that a real and certain Good happens to the Enemy, while the Fruit expected from it is always uncertain and often chimerical. If the Court had been ſure that the *Aghvans* would have returned home after they had plunder'd *Zulfa*, their giving up that City would have been excuſable; but nothing having been ſtipulated as to that, they might well have been afraid without Imputation of treachery, that the taking of *Zulfa* would make it ſo eaſy for the Rebels to ſtreighten *Iſpahan*, and form the Siege, as muſt needs be a Motive for them to undertake it. It is true, 'twas the Advice and Exhortation of thoſe that afterwards betray'd the King, which determin'd the *Aghvans* to puſh their Point, and beſiege the Capital: But it's no leſs true, that inſtead of hearkning to ſuch Advice, they would have taken it to have been a Snare laid in their Way, had they not been in Poſſeſſion of *Zulfa* and *Farabat*. The Court of *Perſia* were thus guilty of two great Faults: The firſt, in abandoning *Farabat*, by which the Rebels got one Foot into *Zulfa*. The ſecond, in not defending *Zulfa* to the laſt Extremity; becauſe they might by fortifying themſelves there, have kept a Communication open by the Bridge of *Zulfa*, and have had plentiful Supplies brought to *Iſpahan*. Thus had the Capital of *Perſia* been kept out of the Hands of the *Barbarians*, who could not have reduced it but by Famine.

'Twas the 19th of *March*, as has been obſerv'd, when the *Aghvans* enter'd *Farabat*; and they poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Zulfa* the next Day. As they at that Juncture thought much more of returning, than of beſieging *Iſpahan*, they were for loſing no Time; and becauſe the Day following the 21ſt of *March* was the firſt Day of the Year in *Perſia*, where it begins at the vernal Equinox, they reſolv'd on that Day to give a New-Year's Gift to *Iſpahan*, by a kind of general Aſſault; which was rather a Bravado than a real Attack. The River *Senderou* cutting off all Communication betwixt the City of *Iſpahan* a

Mile off, and the *Aghvan* Army on the other ſide of it; and beſides, the Bridge being well guarded, and the *Senderou* overflowing the ſame Day, the Aſſailants could not come near the City. Thus the pretended Aſſault ended in the Exchange of ſome Piſtol-ſhot, and the firing ſome Cannon acroſs the River. The Artillery was all out of Order, and could do no great Damage; and the Shoutings on both ſides decided nothing, There were ſome Blows given, and Blood ſpilt on this Occaſion, near the Bridge of *Abuſabat*, guarded by the *Perſians*; for the *Aghvans* making as if they gave ground, to draw the *Perſians* away from the Bridge, in purſuit of them; the latter, tho' veteran Troops, quitted their Poſt to charge them; and the *Aghvans* facing about, there was an Engagement, in which there were about 200 *Perſians* ſlain, who ſold their Lives dearly, having kill'd at leaſt as many of the Rebels. As to the general Aſſault, if it deſerves to be ſo call'd, it laſted ſix Hours, and ſerv'd as a Shew to the Inhabitants of the City that was to be aſſaulted, who got upon their Houſes, which are flat a-top in *Perſia*, and look'd very quietly and ſafely on the Combatants fighting with a River between them. The Manner with which the Rebels began the Attack, made the Citizens of *Iſpahan* recover themſelves a little out from Terror with which they were ſtruck at the Loſs of the Battel of *Giul-*

nabat. They were aſhamed of being allarm'd at the Approach of Men, who appear'd ſo little terrible in Action: By this means, what the *Aghvans* deſign'd to terrify the People of *Iſpahan*, only ſerv'd on the contrary to animate them.

Myrr-Maghmud had too good Intelligence in that Capital, not to be informed of the Miſcarriage of his Attempt, which had been ſomewhat too haſty. He knew they made a Jeſt of his general Aſſault; and that he had loſt more Reputation by that Action than he had acquired by his Victory at *Giulnabat*. He was heartily vex'd; and being reſolved to have his Revenge as ſoon as poſſible, he ſcarce gave his Troops a Day's Reſt, tho' in truth he ſcarce they were more tired with hollowing than fighting. The 23d of *March*, which was *Monday* in *Paſſion-Week* that Year, was pitch'd upon for a new general Aſſault, in which *Maghmud* pretended to retrieve his Reputation. But to enable the Reader to judge better of this ſecond Action, the moſt conſiderable during the Siege of *Iſpahan*, I muſt here briefly deſcribe the Situation of the Place where it happen'd.

The River *Senderou* runs South of *Iſpahan*, about a Mile from that City. It paſſes from the Weſt to the Eaſt; and in the Space of a League has four Bridges over it, at an equal Diſtance of a Mile, leading to the City, That Bridge which is moſt to the Weſt, and above the reſt by the Courſe of the River, is a very plain one, but very commodious for the *Armenians* of *Zulfa*, who Trade to or from the Weſt; becauſe, if it was not for that Bridge, they muſt take a great Compaſs about, and croſs the whole City of *Iſpahan*, to gain the great and long Alley of *Tcharbag*, which reaches from that Capital to the Bridge of *Zulfa*.

This Bridge is the ſecond in Order, towards the Eaſt; and leads to *Zulfa*, whence it takes its Name. 'Tis one of the fineſt Pieces of Workmanſhip that is of its Kind, acccording to *Tavernier*'s Deſcription of it, to which I refer; taking notice here only of as much as relates to my Subject. 'Tis 350 Feet long, and from 20 to 60 Feet broad. There's on each ſide of it a Gallery of 25 or 30 Feet high, and 8 or 9 Feet wide; ſo that one may paſs in the middle of the Bridge without being perceived by any one on each ſide of the River. Nothing can be a better Repreſentation of it than the Bridges of *Paris*, which have Houſes on them; ſuch as the Bridge of *Notre-Dame*, and the *Change* Bridge.

The third Bridge, paſſing down the River Eaſtward, is juſt ſuch another Bridge as that of *Zulfa*; at leaſt with reſpect to the Galleries on each ſide of it. It is called the Bridge of *Gaures*, becauſe it leads to their Dwellings; and 'twas on this Account that

Schah Abas the II. Grandfather to *Schah Huſſein*, built it, on purpoſe to prevent their paſſing by the great Alley *Tcharbag*, which before this Bridge was built, they muſt paſs in their way home from *Iſpahan*.

The fourth Bridge is an Old one, a Mile below the *Gaures*, and ſomething like the firſt. 'Tis called the Bridge *of Chiras*; it being the Road-way from *Iſpahan* to the City of *Chiras*.

Of theſe four Bridges the ſecond and third were ſo eaſy to defend, by Means of their Galleries; that the *Aghvans* did not attempt to force their Paſſage that way. The other two were quite open. The firſt, tho' *Tavernier* does not tell us its Name, ſhou'd be the Bridge of *Abuſabat*, at which the Rebels made their firſt Attack the 21ſt of *March*; and it was at the Bridge of *Chiras*, as my Memoirs obſerve, that they made their ſecond in the Manner we are about to relate.

They came up with all poſſible Reſolution and Bravery; and while one Part of them offer'd to Ford the River, the other attack'd the Bridge itſelf, and at laſt poſſeſſed it, after a vigorous Reſiſtance. The Officer, who commanded at that Poſt, was an Eunuch; a Man of a good Head and Heart, as he ſhewed on this Occaſion. His Name was *Achmet Aga.* When he ſaw the *Perſians* giving way, and the Rebels in Poſſeſſion of the other End of the Bridge, he ran thither with ſome old Soldiers to ſupport them, and ſoon recover'd part of the Ground that had been loſt. While both Sides were fighting on the middle of the Bridge, without any great Advantage on either, a Carpenter of *Curlande*, named *Jacoub*, who was pretty knowing in Artillery, charged ſome Cannon that were upon the River Bank on *Iſpahan* ſide, and having pointed them againſt the *Aghvans*, and taken right Aim, he diſcharged his Cannon ſo well that he clear'd the Bridge of one Part of the Rebels, and obliged the other to gallop off as faſt as they could. The Eunuch, not contented with having recovered the Bridge, for the Defence of which he had fought, follow'd the *Aghvans* with his beſt Troops, and did great Execution.

The Rebels had been ruin'd, if the General of the *Perſian* Army, *Machmet-Wali*, had fallen upon them on his ſide with his *Arabs*; and the *Perſians* would have had full Revenge for their Diſgrace at *Giulnabat*. But this General, whoſe Pay was 1000 Crowns a Day, found his Account too well in lengthning out the War, to put an End to it ſo ſoon.

One cannot have a better Conception of the Advantage, and the Greatneſs of the Service done to *Perſia* by the Eunuch *Achmet Agha*, than by the Dejection and Conſternation this Shock threw the *Aghvans* into. They kept cloſe in their Camp ſeveral Days, none daring to appear out of it; and judging of them by the Caution they took to prevent all Irruption upon them, one would have taken them for Men who rather expected to be beſieged, than Troops who intended to lay ſiege to the Capital of a great Kingdom. It was now that they thought in good Earneſt of retiring, and repented of their not hearkening to the advantagious Propoſals which had been made them after the Battel of *Giulnabat*. They were willing to reaſſume the Treaty; and were the firſt to ſollicite the *Armenians* to interpoſe in the Matter.

Had the latter been diſpos'd to take this Mediation upon them, *Perſia* had infallibly been ſav'd; the *Aghvans* wanting only an honourable Gate for them to go out of this Affair. But ſuch was the Situation of the miſerable Inhabitants of *Zulfa*, that they were not proper to negotiate a Treaty, which cou'd not ſucceed without their total ruin. They knew how much the Court and City of *Iſpahan* were ſet againſt them; that nothing leſs was talk'd of there than the Deſtruction of their City by Fire and Sword, as ſoon as the Rebels were gone. That the very Women talk'd ſo in the Markets, loading them with Curſes, and threatning to tear the *Armenian* Children out of their Mothers Bellies. Beſides this, they judged very rightly, that the *Aghvans* would not march homewards till they had again ſack'd their City; and that even the *Perſians* would abandon them in a Treaty to the Diſcretion of the *Barbarians*; that the greateſt Part of them had no better courſe to take than to follow the Rebels to *Candahar*; and the latter were ſo well perſuaded of it, that they promiſed them as a Favour, to take them with them, if the Peace was concluded by their Means. Theſe Conſiderations made them deaf to the Sollicitations of the Rebels for their mediating an Accomodation, which they would by no Means hearken to. And this is the ſtrongeſt and juſteſt Reproach that the *Perſians* have againſt them; and if ever the latter ſhould again be Maſters, the *Armenians* have nothing to think of but quitting the Kingdom, unleſs they would expoſe themſelves to the Fury of an enrag'd and powerful Enemy.

While *Myrr-Maghmud* was in vain preſſing the *Armenians* to engage in a Negotiation of Peace with the *Perſian* Court, he learn'd by his Spies in *Iſpahan*, and other Advices, that the *Perſians* thought of nothing leſs than of attacking him; and though they had been ſo diſpoſed, they were in no Condition to undertake it. He found he had taken a falſe Alarm; but what encourag'd him moſt was, the new Engagement he enter'd into with *Machmet-Wali*. The latter, upon the Excluſion of the *Athemat-Doulet* was left ſole General of the Royal Army.

The *Athemat-Doulet*, after having betray'd the publick Cauſe, came off with ſo ſlight a Mortification, and continu'd in the Office of Prime Miniſter. Thus *Myrr-Maghmud* having nothing to fear on the Part of the General of the *Perſian* Army, reſolv'd to let the Time ſlide, and to watch for an Opportunity to reſume his Project more ſucceſsfully; which Reſolution was the more ſuitable to him; for that, if he had really an Intention to retire, he would have been obliged to ſtay till his Horſes were in Caſe for it, which were now only Skin and Bones, and not at all in a Condition for ſo long a March.

It is not certainly known, whether *Machmet-Wali*, General of the *Arabs*, had then formed any Deſign to dethrone the King; 'tis ſtill preſum'd that he thought only of weakening him, and ſtrengthning *Myrr-Maghmud*, that he might one Day, by favour of his Aſſiſtance, render himſelf Independent in his Principality of *Hacvuſa*. Certain it is, he was then in ſtrict Intelligence with *Myrr-Maghmud*, who, perhaps, did not diſcover to him the full Extent of his Views; and it was not till after he had made ſure of *Machmet-Wali*, that he determin'd to puſh the Siege of *Iſpahan* to the utmoſt.

As ſoon as this Reſolution was fix'd, he apply'd himſelf to furniſh his Camp with all ſorts of Neceſſaries for ſo important an Enterprize, which he foreſaw wou'd run out into Length; the *Aghvans*, as has been obſerv'd, knowing nothing of a Siege; and he could have no Hopes of taking the Capital but by Famine, which would conſume Time, and conſequently a great Quantity of Proviſions.

The reſt of this Month of *March*, and all *April*, he employ'd in getting theſe Proviſions to his Camp; which was facilitated by a tacit ſuſpenſion of Arms on one ſide and the other; for from the 23d of *March*, when the *Aghvans* were repuls'd at *Chiras* Bridge, to the Beginning of *May*, neither Side attempted to paſs the River by which they were both ſeparated.

But if the *Aghvans* did nothing on the City Side, they made up for it on that of the Country, where they plunder'd the neighbouring Towns and Villages, and brought away all the Proviſions and Forage. Some of the Towns ſtood out againſt them, and could not be forced by them; but moſt of them were reduced, by cutting off their Water, and a great many were forſaken by the Inhabitants, who fled where they cou'd with their Effects. All the Detachments ſent out by the Rebels, returned loaden with great Booty; ſo that the Camp was ſoon full of all ſorts of Proviſions, ſufficient to ſupply them ſeveral Months.

In the mean while *Myrr-Maghmud* amus'd the Court of *Perſia* with divers Negotiations; Couriers were always going and coming from *Iſpahan* to the Camp, and from the

Camp to *Iſpahan*; and by the help of theſe publick Negotiations, ſecret ones were carried on; and ſome by Emiſſaries, who went by Night more than by Day; ſo that *Maghmud* having bound his Party well together, by means of his Correſpondents in the Capital, who informed him of the Condition every thing was in, and being well provided with all Neceſſaries for hazarding a Siege, reſolv'd in the Beginning of *May* to open himſelf a Paſſage on the River, coſt what it would.

He made his Attack at the Bridge of *Abuſabat*, the Weſtermoſt of the four Bridges over the *Senderou*, which he had attempted in vain the next Day after the taking of *Zulfa*. He found not ſo much Reſiſtance in the ſecond Attack as he met with in the firſt. The *Georgians*, who had the Charge of defending it, were for the moſt Part drunk or aſleep; ſo that they were at no more Trouble than paſſing over their Bodies in maſtering the Bridge. This Paſſage being once open, part of the Army follow'd, and ſpread themſelves about *Iſpahan*, which they began to inveſt on all Sides the ſame Day. They then fortified the Paſſes ſo ſtrongly, that nothing could go in or come out of the City.

It was not till then thought in the neighbouring Countries, that the Rebels did ſeriouſly intend to form the Siege of *Iſpahan*: People ſtill flatter'd themſelves, that after they had plunder'd *Zulfa*, and the Neighbourhood, they wou'd return with their Booty. In this Imagination they neglected laying up Stores in the Capital; but when they underſtood the Rebels had paſs'd the River, and block'd up the City on all ſides, they began to awake, and to conſider how to ſuccour it. This general Movement might have produc'd ſomething, had there been an able Chief to have kept them together, with ſufficient Authority to have united the ſeveral Cantons, and have obliged them to act in Concert: But there was no little City nor Town which wou'd not act of itſelf. Further, two Factions in the ſame City cou'd not reſolve to ſuſpend their Animoſities, to join together againſt the Common Enemy; and, as if the Rout of the Rebels, and the raiſing the Siege of *Iſpahan*, had been at their Diſpoſal, and in their Power, each Faction would reſerve the Glory to itſelf, and was afraid leſt the contrary Party ſhou'd have a ſhare of it. Thus the War was carried on by Parties. All the different Bodies of Troops, which, if join'd together, wou'd infallibly have beaten the Detachments *Maghmud* ſent out into the Country during the Siege, were defeated in twelve Encounters, which were call'd Combats, tho' not worthy of that Name, and made a great Noiſe all over *Aſia*, where they were talk'd of as ſo many ſet Battels, in which the *Aghvans* had always the Advantage.

The only one of all theſe Actions, that deſerves Attention, and may be call'd a Combat, was that where a Body of 5000 Men, raiſed by *Ali-Merdan-Kan,* Prince of *Loriſtan,* was cut in Pieces by the Imprudence of his Brother; for while that General was making other Levies to joyn thoſe 5000 Men, and was preparing a great Convoy for *Iſpahan,* his Brother, jealous of the Glory he was about to acquire, found Means to debauch his Men by giving them Money, and engag'd them to follow him againſt the Enemy; but being a raw Soldier, he behaved ſo ill, and led them ſo unadviſedly, that the 5000 Men were totally routed, and he himſelf eſcaped with Difficulty, the Fight having been very bloody.

This was one of the *Perſians* moſt conſiderable Loſſes ſince the Battel of *Giulnabat;* and cauſed ſo much the more Affliction over all the Kingdom, by how much the *Perſians* had placed all their Hopes in this ſmall Body of the Army, which conſiſted indeed of pick'd Men, and, above all, in the Capacity of the brave *Ali-Merdan-Kan,* who had form'd it.

But no Body was ſo much concern'd as this Lord, who was doubly intereſted by the Loſs itſelf, and by the Hand from whence it came. He was at an infinite deal of Pains to aſſemble theſe 5000 Men, choſen Troops, who wanted only a good Commander. He pretended not to give Battel to the *Aghvans* with a Number of Men ſo inferior to theirs; propoſing nothing more to himſelf than to force one of their Poſts, and to make way for his great Convoy, which was quite ready to enter *Iſpahan.* It was very practicable, and in all likelihood would have ſucceeded. 'Tis alſo certain, that the Confidence People had in his Ability would have animated the Beſieged; and his Vigilance and Authority, would have been too hard for the Artifices of a General, who betray'd the Party which he headed. On the Eve of the Day when he was to execute his Project, he ſaw all his Meaſures broken by the blind Jealouſy of a Brother, who, tho' younger, and without Capacity, had all his Life long been labouring to ſupplant him. This unlucky Brother obtained his End ſome Years before; and manag'd his Intrigues ſo well with the Eunuchs and Miniſters, that he got himſelf put in his Brother's Place in the Principality of *Loriſtan*, and the latter to be confin'd at *Kirman.*

Whatever Cauſe of Reſentment *Ali-Merdan-Kan* had againſt the Court, he hearken'd to nothing but his Zeal and his Duty, when he heard the *Aghvans* were marching towards *Iſpahan.* He made his Eſcape from the Place of his Exile, to go and ſupport the tottering Throne of a King by whom he had himſelf been ſtripp'd of his Principality. He was at the Battel of *Giulnabat*, and had given evident Proofs of his Fidelity and Courage. Since that fatal Day his ſole Buſineſs had been to find out Means to ſuccour his King in the moſt preſſing Neceſſity. All his Cares, his Credit, and his Wealth, had been thus employ'd; and at laſt he ſaw himſelf in a Condition to undertake it, when he found in his own Brother an Enemy, who ruin'd all his Hopes. He had pardon'd his former Treaſons, but could not ſtand out againſt this laſt; and having him in his Power, he rid himſelf of him, tho' not without great Regret, and very ſorry he was that there was no other way for him to put an End to his Treaſons. The Victory gain'd by the *Aghvans* on this Occaſion was compleat; but they made that uſe of their Advantage which *Barbarians* are wont to do; for having given Quarter to thoſe that ſurviv'd the Battel, and laid down their Arms only, on their ſwearing to ſpare their Lives, they cut the Throats of all of them, a few excepted, from whom they hop'd to receive great Sums for their Ranſom.

So black a Perfidy remain'd not without Puniſhment; and on this Occaſion it was that the Town of *Ben-Iſpahan*, who had given the Rebels more Trouble than any City in *Perſia*, began to ſignalize herſelf againſt them. This Town is not above three Miles from the Capital whoſe Name it bears. 'Tis pretty ſtrong, and ſituated as to be able to make a Defence. The Inhabitants of the Towns and Villages about it, alarm'd by the Defeat of the *Perſian* Army, had removed

thither

thither with their Effects, as to a Place of Safety. The Men of *Ben-Iſpahan*, ready to take hold of all Opportunities to fall on the Rebels, were inform'd, that the Body of *Aghvans*, who had defeated *Ali-Merdan-Kan's* little Army, retreated very negligently, and brought with them all the Baggage and Proviſions deſign'd for *Iſpahan*, which they found in the Enemies Camp. On this Advice they waited for their Return; and falling briſkly upon them, they, without much Difficulty, defeated Troops, fatigu'd with a long Fight, who not expecting to be attack'd, march'd in Diſorder, and all the Security which was a natural Effect of ſo late a Victory. The Men of *Ben-Iſpahan* recover'd by this all the Booty the Rebels had taken from the Army of *Ali-Merdan-Kan*. They were carrying home the Proviſions and Baggage when *Myrr-Maghmud* diſdaining that a ſimple Town ſhou'd put ſuch an Affront on him in ſight of the Capital, which he was beſieging, reſolved to revenge it in Perſon; and mounting on Horſeback, put himſelf at the Head of a great Body of Troops, with which he march'd againſt the Men of *Ben-Iſpahan*, who retir'd in good Order. He was receiv'd with more Reſolution and Vigor than he expected, or had met with from the *Perſians*. The Men of *Ben-Iſpahan* beat him, and cut off moſt of the Troops he had with him. He himſelf was hard put to it to make his Eſcape, full of Confuſion and Rage at his being forced to leave, to the Diſcretion of the Conquerors, ſeveral Priſoners of Importance, ſome of them his neareſt Relations, whom he could not get out of their Hands. He was no ſooner returned to his Camp, than out of fear that the Men of *Ben-Iſpahan* would uſe Repriſals, and treat their Priſoners as *Ali-Merdan-Kan*'s Soldiers had been treated by his own Troops contrary to their Oath given, and the Law of Nations; he in haſte ſent an Expreſs to the King, to pray him to interpoſe his Authority to ſave their Lives; promiſing that if thoſe *Aghvan* Priſoners were well us'd, he might expect an Accommodation. The King immediately diſpatch'd an Officer of his Court, nam'd *Mirza Raham*, whom the *Aghvans* themſelves conducted to *Ben-Iſpahan*. But the Officer came too late: He ſaw the dead Bodies of thoſe Priſoners fixed upon Stakes, among whom were an Uncle of *Myrr-Maghmud's*, one of his Brothers, and two of his Couſins; and that Officer complaining that the Men of *Ben-Iſpahan* had been too quick, they reply'd boldly, That *Barbarians* who broke their Oaths, ought not to be ſurpriſed that they had ſo treated thoſe Men to whom they had promis'd nothing.

This cruel, tho' juſt Execution, deſtroy'd all Hope of a Peace by a Treaty. The Rebels, who by the Uſage their Fellows met with from the Men of *Ben-Iſpahan*, ſaw what they were to expect from the *Perſians* if they got the Maſtery, reſolved to give no Quarter; and the ſame Day maſſacred all their Priſoners, as ſo many Victims due to the *Manes* of their Countrymen thus treated at *Ben-Iſpahan*.

However, they were ſtrangely diſpirited by the Check they had juſt met with from thoſe Men. Inſtead of preſſing the Siege of the Capital, they contented themſelves with furniſhing well the principal Poſts in the Neighbourhood of that Place, and ſecuring the Paſſage of the Bridge of *Abuſabat*. The reſt of the Army returned to the Camp at *Farabat*, leaving but few Troops even at *Zulfa*.

Here was a fair Opportunity to deliver *Iſpahan*, had it been taken hold of; and that it was not, was no Fault of the *Armenians* of *Zulfa*. Tho' the *Perſians* had accus'd them of favouring the *Aghvans*, it is certain the King had not more faithful and more intelligent Spies than they had been, from whom he received conſtant Advice of whatever paſs'd in the Rebels Camp. *Myrr-Maghmud* himſelf diſcover'd ſome of them, whom he put to a cruel Death for their Treachery. When they ſaw the Dejection the *Aghvans* were fallen into ſince their late Defeat, they not only informed the King of it, but were the firſt that ſolicited and preſs'd him to take Advantage of that Conjuncture, and to ſtifle all Reproaches, well or ill grounded; they exhorted him to make himſelf Maſter of *Zulfa*, ſhewing how eaſily it might be done, offering to be themſelves aſſiſting in it, by putting the few *Aghvans* that remained there to Death, as ſoon as they ſaw the Royal Army advance.

True it is, the *Aghvans* were in ſuch a Condition that the *Perſians* would have met with no great Reſiſtance; and if they had ſecur'd *Zulfa*, the City of *Iſpahan* had been delivered. The Bridge of *Abuſabat* attack'd on the Side of *Zulfa* and that of *Iſpahan* at the ſame time, could not have held out; and that Paſſage being cut off, there would have been no Communication left between the Rebels in the Poſts about *Iſpahan*, and the reſt of the Army encamp'd at *Farabat*; and had no other Profit accru'd by this Enterprize, than opening a Paſſage for a great Convoy of ſeveral thouſand Camels loaden with Proviſions, which waited for the Moment in the Neighbourhood, the Place had at leaſt been revictualled, and the Courage of the beſieg'd been rais'd; for they feared Famine much more than the *Aghvans*.

The King highly approved of the Propoſition, and immediately order'd the General to march with the Army, and put it in Execution. But the latter, who for ſome time had betray'd him, and was ſo deeply engag'd with *Myrr-Maghmud*, that he thought juſtly enough he ſhould be undone, and all would come out if the King continu'd Maſter, eluded that Order by making ſhew of executing it. He at firſt march'd his Army out at the City Gates, but ſoon after march'd them in again under various Pretences. Sometimes he ſaid he had Advice, that *Ali-Merdan-Kan's* Army, the Defeat of which was not yet known, were juſt upon arriving, and the Junction of their Troops would render the Execution of the Project more certain; and ſometimes he ſeemed to doubt the Sincerity of the *Armenians*, and did not think it fit to truſt the only Army the State then had on their bare Word. And as the *Perſians* ſtood in need of him, and durſt not ſeem to ſuſpect his Fidelity, they were forced to accept his Excuſes, and loſe the faireſt Opportunity which ever offer'd for the Deliverance of the City.

'Twas about the ſame time, that News came of the Defeat of *Ali-Merdan-Kan's* Troops, which they had not heard of before; and what augmented the Deſolation which this Misfortune caus'd, was further Advice that there was no Hope of Succour from the Prince of *Georgia*; which happen'd thus:

When the King was inform'd of the Loſs of the Battel of *Giulnabat*, the Rupture of the propoſed Accommodation, and the Approach of the *Aghvan* Army towards *Iſpahan*, and ſaw he was like to be beſieg'd, he thought the ſureſt way to free himſelf from this Embarraſsment, was to ſend for the Prince of *Georgia*, on whoſe Capacity and Valour he might rely. The Difficulty was how he ſhould regain that Prince, on whom the greateſt Affront had been put, by ſignifying to him an Order for him to return home, juſt as he was about breaking in upon the *Leſgians* with an Army of 60000 Men; and it could not but be known that he had then ſworn at the Head of his Forces, never to draw Sword for the King, or the State. The King was ſorry after he had carry'd things with ſo high a Hand, to ſee himſelf oblig'd to have recourſe to the *Georgian* Prince; but ſuch was the Extremity to which he was driven, that 'twas reſolv'd to ſet every thing aſide, and endeavour to regain and appeaſe him; for which *Schah Huſſein* took the beſt Courſe that could be. He ſent him the moſt magnificent Preſents; to theſe he join'd a Letter, the Contents of which did not run ſo much upon Juſtification and Apology, as his Sorrow and Excuſes for what had paſs'd, conceived in ſuch Terms as might more than make him amends, coming from a King to his Vaſſal. He confeſs'd he had been in the wrong to ſnatch the Arms out of his Hands, when he was on the point of chaſtiſing his Enemies, and thoſe of the State; and acknowledg'd at laſt, notwithſtanding the Suſpicions which had been without grounds rais'd againſt him, that he never had a more true and faithful Friend. He then ſhewed him, that the Time was now come for him to prove himſelf ſo, by giving him eſſential Marks of his Friendſhip in the preſſing Neceſſity to which he was reduced; and after having ſet before his Eyes what he had done upon Occaſions for his Family, and his whole Nation, he added, that if Gratitude obliged him to nothing with regard to him, ſomething was at leaſt owing to the Blood of the Princes, *Reſtom-Kan* and *Koſtrow-Kan* his Brothers, and ſo many *Georgians*, whom the *Aghvans* had moſt barbarouſly murder'd. On Prince *Vachtanga's* Anſwer to this Letter depended the Safety or Loſs of the Kingdom; for it is ſtill the general Belief in *Perſia*, that if that Prince had only made a Shew of marching to the King's Aſſiſtance, the *Aghvans* would not have ſtaid for his coming, but have made what haſte they could home: Spite prevail'd on this Occaſion; tho' when the Voice of Duty was too weak, that of Compaſſion at leaſt ought to have been heard. *Vachtanga* ſaw his King ſuppliant, as one may ſay, upon his Knees, imploring his Protection in the moſt extreme Peril, without being mov'd. A Word only would have ſav'd him; and ſuch was his implacable Reſentment, that he refus'd him even that. But to prove that when a Perſon is wanting to his King, he is wanting to himſelf, and that when a Throne falls, thoſe to whom it was a Support muſt fall with it, Heaven permitted that Prince

Vachtanga ſhould be one of the firſt Victims of his own Hard-heartedneſs; for after the taking of *Iſpahan*, the *Turks* made an Irruption into *Georgia*, when it was drain'd of Soldiers; and *Vachtanga* being in no Condition to aſſiſt them, was forced to fly. He took Refuge at *Petersburgh* in *Auguſt*, 1725. and found there more Compaſſion in his Misfortunes than he had had for his King's; the *Czarina* giving him a very kind Reception, and aſſigning him an honourable Penſion, on which he has ſubſiſted ever ſince; a Fugitive outed of his Dominions, to which there is no Appearance that he will ever return. When all Hope of Succour from *Georgia* was over, the *Perſians* began to conceive new Fears. For the firſt Alarms on the Arrival of the *Aghvans*, and the taking of the Bridge of *Abuſabat*, had not for ſome time given them much Diſturbance; tho' the latter being in the Enemies Hands, the City was ſhut up by it, and all Communication from without cut off. They hop'd the News of the March of *Vachtanga* would have rid them of an Enemy who block'd up the City, but that was all. They made no Attempt to force it; or if they did, they appear'd to be ſuch Novices in Attacks of Places, that their Aſſaults were only a Sight for the Citizens of *Iſpahan*, who from their Houſes Tops look'd on them as ſuch for their Amuſement. The firſt Months of the Siege paſs'd in this manner, the Inhabitants of the Capital living in as great Security as if they had not been beſieged. But the Defeat of all the ſmall Bodies that were coming to their Aſſiſtance at laſt awaken'd them, and renewed their Diſquiets both in Court and City, eſpecially when they deſpair'd of *Vachtanga*'s coming. 'Twas believ'd that all thoſe ſmall Bodies of Troops which the Rebels had beaten, miſcarry'd in their Enterprizes more thro' want of Conduct than want of Zeal, and by engaging the Enemy apart; whereas if they had been all joined under one Chief, whoſe Authority might be ſufficient to unite them, and keep them in ſome Order, their Enterprizes would have been more ſucceſsful.

They caſt their Eyes on Prince *Thamas*, *Schah Huſſein*'s third Son, to be their Chief. His two Eldeſt had already been in their Turn declar'd Succeſſors to the King their Father. *Mirza-Sefi*, the eldeſt of all of them, took a Diſguſt in a Month's Time, as is ſeen in its place, or perhaps we are made to believe ſo. The ſecond Son, who was afterwards ſubſtituted in his room, was more unhappy; for the Eunuchs, who were Maſters of every thing, having taken Umbrage at his Conduct, got him to be again confin'd in the *Haram*, from whence he had been taken. Thoſe that have ſuffer'd Outrage to a certain Point being never brought upon the Stage again, and the Name and Authority of a Son of the King being wanted to unite all the Provinces, and all Parties under one and the ſame Command, the third Son was preferr'd to his two elder Brothers, tho' he had not yet appear'd in the World.

He was for this purpoſe taken out of the *Haram*, as the Kingdom's laſt Hope; and to qualify him to compel Obedience, the King declar'd him his Succeſſor in the Throne with great Solemnity. He alſo made him his Lieutenant, with full Power throughout all *Perſia*. After he had been publickly recogniz'd as ſuch, the Queſtion was, how he might with Safety paſs through the Rebels, who inveſted the City on all Sides. A good Eſcorte of 500 ſtout Soldiers were pick'd out of the Band called *Kagiat's* for that Service. They were hardy and truſty Fellows, of approv'd Fidelity. They conducted him ſo well by private Ways, that maugre all the Obſtacles they met with, the Prince was in twenty-four Hours March upon a Stretch brought to a Place of Safety.

Prince *Thamas* was now in a Condition to act; but he did not find things in the good Diſpoſition which the Court flatter'd themſelves with. Moſt of the People in the Country round about *Iſpahan* were diſhearten'd with the ill Succeſs of all their Attempts, and had retired into remoter Provinces. It was not eaſy to make them return, and reaſſemble to oppoſe the Rebels. As to the Troops on the Frontiers, thoſe that were on the Borders of the *Leſgians* could not quit their Poſts, which, ſo weaken'd were they by ſeveral Loſſes, they could hardly maintain. The ſame Excuſe ſerv'd for thoſe that were poſted on the *Turkiſh* Frontiers. Others excus'd themſelves on account of ſome pretended Privileges granted them by *Schah Abbas*, by vertue of which they ſaid they were not to ſerve any where but on the Frontier. Others, quite diſpirited by ill Succeſſes, were gone home, where they in Peace look'd on the Tempeſt, by which they were themſelves to be ſoon overwhelm'd. 'Twas to no purpoſe for Prince *Thamas* to ſend Order after Order, telling them that the Neceſſities of the Kingdom, and the Danger of the Capital, ready to fall into the Hands of *Barbarians*, ought to prevail over all other Conſiderations. He was not able to make himſelf fear'd, and his Orders therefore were not obey'd; the leaſt Pretence was ſufficient to diſobey him. Thus tho' there were 50000 regular Troops on the Frontiers, 20000 towards *Karabegie* on *Turkey* Side, 9000 *Kagians* on the Side of *Tartary*, 12000 towards *Hyrcania* and Mount *Caucaſus*, and 7000 on the Borders of the *Great Mogul*, Prince *Thamas* could get little or no Succour.

There was another Militia in the Kingdom eſtabliſh'd by *Schah Abas*, which would have been very ſerviceable to Prince *Thamas*, if they had not been neglected in the laſt Reigns; eſpecially that of *Schah Huſſein.* It conſiſted of the Nobility to whom *Schah Abas* gave Lands, on Condition they ſhou'd ſerve with a certain Number of their Vaſſals when required; ſomething like the *Timariots* in *Turkey*; excepting that thoſe *Timariots* are only for Life, and a ſort of Commanderies which deſcend not to their Childern; whereas in *Perſia* they are Hereditary, which was the Occaſion of ruining that Militia. For having been a hundred Years in poſſeſſion of theſe Lands from Father to Son, ever ſince the Reign of *Schah Abas,* they look'd upon them as Eſtates of the Family: And the little Care that was taken to keep them to their Duty, gave them Reaſon to think ſo. A Piece of Negligence the more blameable, for that this Militia conſiſted of 300000 Men, and were a ſure Reſſource on any ſudden or preſſing Occaſion; but now were come to nothing, for want of being employ'd from time to time. Whence it was, that hardly any of them appear'd at Prince *Thamas*'s Summons. Moſt of them pretended they were not oblig'd to march, but in a general Expedition, where the King commanded in Perſon; and if ſome of them furniſh'd their Contingency, by ſending a few of their Peaſants, theſe Soldiers, ill paid, and worſe diſciplin'd, had not march'd half Way, before they were as much fatigued, as others are at the End of a Campaign; and return'd

Home again. Prince *Thamas* finding ſo little Zeal and Aſſiſtance in the natural Subjects of the Kingdom, who as *Perſians* ought to have intereſted themſelves more in the Preſervation of the Monarchy, expected much leſs from the Fidelity of the little Princes dependant on *Perſia,* who did not think ſo much of ſuccouring it, as of taking advantage of the preſent Diſorder of Affairs to ſhake off their Dependancy; a Servitude they endure no longer than they are compell'd to it, nor than when they can ſet themſelves free with Impunity. Thus the Prince's going out of *Iſpahan* produc'd nothing of what was expected for the Relief of the City; and all the Benefit it did the King his Father, was the preſerving him as a laſt Reſource for the Royal Family, in the Fall with which they were threaten'd.

'Tis evident by what has been ſaid of the ill Diſpoſition in which Prince *Thamas* found Things when he was at Liberty to act, that he was by no means in a Condition to do any thing conſiderable for the Deliverance of *Iſpahan.* He cou'd not get out till about the latter End of *May* at ſooneſt, and the City being ſurrounded towards the End of *October,* the Space of five Months Time between them was not enough for him to get a ſufficient Strength to relieve it; eſpecially conſidering how diſinclin'd the People were to that Service.

However, there are ſome who pretend this Prince might have done more than he did. What Grounds they have for it I can't tell. They ſay there was Deſign and Artifice in it, and that it had been ſuggeſted to him, that if the Siege of *Iſpahan* was rais'd, it might well happen to him, as to his two elder Brothers, who after they had been declared Succeſſors to *Schah Huſſein*, were degraded thro' the Jealouſy and Intrigues of the Eunuchs, and confin'd in a Corner of the *Haram*, without Hope of ever getting out again: That upon this Suggeſtion, he reſolv'd to let *Iſpahan* be taken, propoſing to himſelf to come afterwards at the Head of all the Troops of the Kingdom to drive away the *Aghvans*, wihch would ſecure to him his Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, and render it inconteſtable. Theſe Suſpicions are perhaps ill-grounded: but it muſt be allow'd, that Prince *Thamas*'s Conduct contributed a great deal to ſtrengthen them. For while his Father was reduc'd to the laſt Extremity in *Iſpahan*, he paſt his Time in Diverſions and nuptial Rejoicings; inſomuch, that he receiv'd the fatal News of the taking of the Capital, the very Day he was married with the utmoſt Pomp, and in the midſt of Fire-Works and Illuminations made on that Occaſion. This dreadful News put an End to the Feſtival, which was not at all ſuitable to it.

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In the mean time, the Citizens of *Iſpahan* finding no Advantage by the Prince's leaving the City, that the *Aghvans* ſhut them up cloſer every Day, and that there was no Proſpect of any Succour, grew tumultuous, and ran to the King's Palace, which he had not ſtirr'd out of from the beginning of the Siege to that Hour. They cry'd out, that 'twas a Shame to ſuffer themſelves to be undermin'd by little and little, without one bold Effort for their Deliverance; and ſince there was nothing to be expected from Without, they demanded to be led themſelves againſt the Enemy, while they were yet able to fight. They were referr'd to the General, who never wanted Reaſons to elude their Inſtances. Sometimes he amus'd them with the approaching Arrival of Prince *Thamas*: ſometimes he ſeem'd to comply with their Zeal, and wou'd put himſelf at the Head of a Number of them, as if he wou'd attack the Enemy; but they were ſcarce out of the Gates, before he had ſome Excuſe or another to bring them in again: as particularly, that the Hour was not favourable, the *Perſians* being very ſuperſtitious, and much given to obſerve Hours and Seaſons.

But it not being poſſible in their preſent Situation, to amuſe the People any longer, who grew weary of Delays, and loſt all Patience, they mutiny'd, and crowded again and again to the *Haram*, crying out, Let the King put himſelf at our Head, and lead us againſt the Enemy. Good Words were at firſt given them, and they were put off with a Promiſe of the King's Anſwer the next Day. But the People not truſting to this Promiſe, cry'd out again, that they wou'd ſee the King; and the Sedition increas'd ſo much, that the Eunuchs fir'd Ball on the Multitude out of the Palace Windows, which diſpers'd them, and ſuppreſs'd the Sedition for that time, tho' it had a very ill Effect afterwards. For the Citizens ſeeing there was no Hopes of any Help from the King, who ſlept over the Miſeries which threatn'd him, and cou'd not be drawn out of his Palace, as much as his Life and Crown were in danger, loſt all Courage, and every one thought of himſelf only, and how to deliver himſelf from the Danger which ſeem'd inevitable. To this End they withdrew in ſuch Numbers by little and little, with the tacit Connivance of the *Aghvans*, who were not ſorry to ſee the City diſpeopled, that when the Famine came upon them, and they reſolv'd to try one Effort, there was not People enough left to make it.

Achmet-Agha, the brave Eunuch who ſo well defended the Bridge of *Chiras*, and had ſignaliz'd himſelf on ſeveral other Occaſions, ſeeing how things were going, and that all wou'd ſoon be loſt, if the People did not recover their Spirits by ſome vigorous Action, put himſelf at the Head of ſome old Troops which he commanded, and attempt'd to force one of the chief Poſts of the *Aghvans*. The Blow wou'd have been the more important, for that if it had ſucceeded, the City wou'd have been revictual'd for a long time, there being ſeveral Thouſand Camels loaden with Proviſions three Leagues off, which Convoy waited only for the opening a Paſſage to enter *Iſpahan*. *Achmet* attack'd the Poſt very valiantly, and had without doubt carry'd it, if *Machmet-Wali* had contributed ever ſo little towards it; but the latter, inſtead of ſupporting him, baſely forſook him, and himſelf and his Troops were repuls'd. *Machmet-Wali* fearing his Remonſtrance, was beforehand with him, and complain'd to the King, that the Eunuch had encroach'd upon his Office, and fought on his own Head; that his Sally was unſeaſonable, and had loſt a Part of the King's beſt Soldiers. The King ſuffer'd himſelf to be impos'd on by this Miſrepreſentation, and being accuſtom'd to fall out with no body but thoſe that ſerv'd him beſt, was very angry with the loyal Eunuch when he return'd, and chid him for fighting without Order. *Achmet* bore all his Anger with the Bravery he ſhewed in Battel. He told him plainly he was dupe'd by a Traytor who betray'd him, and endeavour'd only to palliate his Treaſon, when by the Extremity of Famine he ſhould be reduced to deliver himſelf to the *Aghvans*; that as for his own Part, he would meddle no more, but would dye at his Majeſty's Feet before the Traitor ſhould gain his Ends; that he might not have the Affliction to ſee him pull'd from his Throne by the Treachery of a Wretch in whom he confided, and who was more his Enemy than the *Aghvans* themſelves. He then withdrew, and his great Soul not being able to bear ſuch unjuſt Reproaches, he took Poiſon, and the next Day was found dead in his Bed. He was generally belov'd and eſteem'd, and accordingly univerſally lamented. Every body mourn'd for the Loſs of the only Man that had hitherto kept up their Hopes; and his Loſs threw thoſe into Deſpair, that had not till then look'd on their State as deſperate. The *Aghvans* never thought themſelves ſo ſure of taking the City, as when they heard of his Death; which their General took care to acquaint them with, as ſoon as himſelf knew it. *Achmet* was the only one of the *Perſian* Generals, whom they dreaded for his Conduct and Courage; and it is certain, if he had been General in the room of *Machmet Wali*, they would not ſo obſtinately have continu'd the Siege of *Iſpahan*. Though he was an Eunuch, he had nothing of the Meanneſs of that Sort of People, and would ſometimes ſpeak to the King with that Freedom and Reſolution, which none were capable of but himſelf. As this one Inſtance makes appear; in that he once by his own Authority took the Meat deſign'd for the King's Table, and diſtributed it among the Soldiers, making a Jeſt of the Houſhold-Servants who carry'd the Diſhes, and telling them, Neither the King nor the Courtiers would ever think of a Remedy for the Famine, while their own Bellies were full. *Schah Huſſein's* Loſs in the Death of this faithful Servant was the greateſt he ever met with; and tho' he was concern'd at it, 'twas not ſo much as he ought to have been. Thus fell a Man, whom the Perils of War had ſpar'd, by the Malignity of Envy. Indeed it was *Schah Huſſein's* Fate to do himſelf more Miſchief than his Enemies cou'd do him, and to part with his moſt faithful Servants, as ſoon as they were in a Condition to make others afraid of them.

By what *Achmet* ſaid to the Domeſticks concerning the Famine, when he took away the King's Dinner, one may be ſure it rag'd all over the City. This Scarcity was alſo a Conſequence of the King's and his Miniſters ill Policy, who if they had been directed by the *Aghvans* themſelves how to behave moſt for their Advantage, could not have done otherwiſe than they did.

For, as if they thought there was not People enough in *Iſpahan* to conſume the Proviſions there as faſt as might be, the firſt Ordinance that was publiſhed on the Arrival of the *Aghvans*, even before the Paſſages were clos'd, and one Side of the City lay open, was a general Prohibition that none ſhould leave the Capital; not only Citizens who had Houſes there, but Foreigners, and all thoſe that were there upon Occaſion. This firſt Fault was not the worſt; the next was ſtill greater; which was an Order to admit the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns and Villages, driven thither by the Fear of War, and they were there very welcome: which ſo fill'd it with uſeleſs Mouths, and all Sorts of Rabble, that tho' the City is very great, and the Streets very wide, there was hardly any paſſing in it.

Though ſuch a vaſt Multitude muſt make a prodigious Conſumption, the Hope of Succours to free the City in a little while, hinder'd the taking any Precautions for Supplies, and Proviſions continu'd at a reaſonable Price till the End of *May*: They grew dearer in time, yet the Price was ſtill tolerable. In *July* and *Auguſt* the Citizens began to eat Camels, Mules, Horſes and Aſſes, and there was no other Meat in the Markets. A Horſe's Carcaſs at the End of *Auguſt* was worth 1000 Crowns. In *September* and *October* they eat Dogs and Cats, of which ſo many were devour'd, that one would have thought the very Species was loſt there. The Author of my Memoirs reports, that he ſaw a Woman in the *Hollander*'s Quarter holding a Cat in her Hand, and going to ſtrangle it, and tho' the Cat in defending itſelf had made her Hand all bloody, ſhe did not let go her hold, but at every new Claw or Bite ſhe receiv'd, would cry out, *Thou ſtriv'ſt in vain, I'll eat thee for all that.* Corn failing in *September*, a Pound of Bread was ſold for thirty Shillings, and in *October* for above fifty. The City of *Iſpahan* being ſo full of Trees, that according to *Tavernier* it looks more like a Foreſt than a City, Part of them was fell'd in the Famine Time, and the Leaves and Bark ſold by the Pound. The Roots of Herbs made into Meal were eaten. Shoe-Leather being boil'd was for a time the common Food; at laſt they came to eat human Fleſh, and the Streets being full of Carcaſſes, ſome had their Thighs cut off privately. For this Inhumanity was not tolerated; and ſome being taken eating human Fleſh, they were baſtinado'd for it. But the Fear of Puniſhment did not hinder the increaſing of the Evil, which grew at laſt to an horrible Exceſs. For ſeveral Children were ſtolen and eaten, half dead as they were of Famine; and that the moſt monſtrous Barbarities, which we read with ſo much Horror in the Relations of the moſt cruel Famines, might not be wanting in that of *Iſpahan*, there were Mothers who kill'd and eat their own Children. The Mortality, which is the inevitable Conſequence of the like Calamities, was anſwerable to the Exceſs of Miſery in *Iſpahan*. It was ſo great, that no Care was taken to bury the dead Corps, which were flung out into the Streets in ſo great Numbers, that there was no going without paſſing over them, to which People at laſt accuſtom'd themſelves. But notwithſtanding this Diſorder, which any where elſe would have caus'd a Plague, *Iſpahan* was preſerv'd by the Serenity of the Air of the Climate. However, there being ſuch Heaps of Carcaſſes in every Street, the Citizens threw them time after time into the River *Senderou*, on that Side where it run neareſt to the City. The Quantity ſo thrown in was ſo great, that the Water of the River was totally infected by it, and ſo corrupted, that it was a whole Year before it was drunk, or any of the Fiſh eaten that was taken in it. People of Quality ſuffer'd as much as the Vulgar; and one may judge of their Sufferings in general by the Streights to which a *Perſian* Lord was reduced. This Lord having ſold all he had by Piece-meal to ſubſiſt his Family, finding there was no more Food to be had, he reſolv'd to deliver himſelf and them from a cruel Famine, for which he ſaw no Remedy; and having order'd a Dinner a little more ſumptuous than 'ordinary, he privately poiſon'd all the Meat, ſo that himſelf and all his Family, even to the meaneſt Domeſtick, found an End of their Miſeries; none of them, himſelf excepted, knowing how it came.

But what is more ſurpriſing than all I have ſaid, is, there was a poor blind Man in *Iſpahan*, who before the Siege, and during the whole Courſe of it, liv'd only by begging, and was alive when the *Aghvans* made themſelves Maſters of the City, where he continu'd his old Trade of begging, and ſtill liv'd by it under their Dominion; which was not a little extraordinary, that in a Place where the Wealthieſt dy'd of Hunger by thouſands, Providence ſhould take care of the Subſiſtence of a Beggar, who depriv'd of Sight had nothing but his Voice to help him. This Example is at leaſt proper to ſhew us, that Beggary has Reſources which ſometimes are not found in the greateſt Riches.

I cannot better finiſh this Account of the Mortality in *Iſpahan*, than by a Computation of the Number of thoſe that dy'd, which the Author of my Memoirs tells us he ſhould have been better able to give in, if he had not found Means to get out of *Iſpahan* before the End of the Siege. He reports, that when he arrived in *Europe*, he read Letters from the *Armenians* of *Zulfa* to ſome of their Countrymen in the Place where he was, importing that there dy'd in *Iſpahan* during the Siege 10,40000 Perſon. Upon which he ſays, that as he durſt not aſſure one that the Number of the Dead ran up ſo high; ſo that after having been on the Spot himſelf, he durſt not deny it. Certain it is that the City of *Iſpahan* is a great deal bigger and more populous than *Conſtantinople*; that by the Concourſe of the People from the Country Towns, and Villages in the Neighbourhood who fled thither on the approach of the *Aghvans*, there was more than double the Number of People in the City than before. And after it was taken, there were not 100000 Souls in the Place. Upon all which, the Reader may compute as he thinks fit; obſerving (as does the Author of the Memoirs,) that from the Arrival of the *Aghvans* at *Farabat*, not 20000 had periſh'd by the Sword. As for the *Aghvans*, they loſt very few Men after they began to inveſt the City. Not that they were not within reach of the Cannon of *Iſpahan*, where there were 400 mounted in ſeveral Places; but tho' every one of thoſe Pieces was diſcharg'd 400 times at leaſt, which makes 160000 Shot, they were ſo ill fir'd, that there were not 400 *Aghvans* kill'd by it. One may judge of the Skill of the *Perſian* Engineers, by a Queſtion of the *Topli-Baſzy*, or Great Maſter of the Ordnance, who when the Rebels arriv'd at *Giulnabat*, ask'd the *Engliſh* at *Iſpahan*, if there were Cannon in *Europe* that would carry twelve Miles; and if they thought there were any Guns among his, that would carry as far as *Giulnabat*?

When *Myrr-Maghmud* was inform'd by his Spies, that he had nothing to apprehend on the King's Part, who was depriv'd of all Means of doing him Hurt by the Diviſions at

Court and ill Councils; that the City was every Day more and more weaken'd by the Mortality and the Deſertion of the Inhabitants; and that the Eunuch *Achmet-Agha*, the only Man he fear'd was dead, he thought of nothing but ſtrengthning his Poſts, and ſecuring the Avenues to *Iſpahan*, to hinder any Succors entring the Place. And as he doubted not but he ſhould ſoon reduce it by Famine, ſo he made no Attack for two Months together. He ſent back thoſe *Perſians* that had yielded themſelves to him; and ſometimes he maſſacred them to ſtrike Terror into the reſt. Nevertheleſs, he ſtill carry'd on a Negotiation with the King for the Surrender of the City: and tho' this Prince conſented to every thing, even to his Abdication, *Maghmud* ſpun out the Buſineſs into Length, purely to augment the Miſery of the Citizens.

'Tis true, he might have forced the City in the Beginning of *October*, if he had ſtorm'd it, as his principal Officers wou'd have had him do, repreſenting to him that the Conſternation which would ſeize all *Perſia* on the News of the Sack of the Capital would very much facilitate the Conqueſt of the reſt of the Kingdom: and that beſides, he could have no better Title, according to the Laws of the *Alcoran*, to mount the Throne, than by conquering Sword in Hand. But *Myrr-Maghmud*, who knew well that he ran no Hazard by delaying, and was not willing to abandon the

King's and Grandee's Treaſures to Pillage, which muſt have been done, had the City been taken by Storm, put it off on various Pretences, whatever Inſtances were made to him to give the Aſſault. Sometimes he pretended a Regard for his Troops, which were too dear to him to be needleſsly expos'd; and at other times, that ſomebody at leaſt ſhou'd be left alive for them to command in *Iſpahan.*

While he was thus eluding the Sollicitations of his chief Captains, the Negotiations with the Court were ſtill carry'd on; and the Extremity of the Famine having at laſt taken hold of the King's Palace, as well as the reſt of the City, Neceſſity reduc'd that Prince to ſollicit the Concluſion of a Treaty, the firſt Article of which was his own Dethronement, which he ſeem'd more eager about, than *Myrr-Maghmud* himſelf.

In fine, on the 28th of *October*, *Schah Huſſein*, who had nothing left in his Palace for his Subſiſtance, came to his final Reſolution; and to prepare Mens Minds for it, after having cloath'd himſelf in Black, he went out of his Palace, and ran thro' the principal Streets of the City of *Iſpahan*, deploring his and his Kingdoms Misfortunes with Sighs and Groans. The Miſery and Deſolation to which he ſaw the People reduc'd, touch'd him when it was too lare. He did his utmoſt to comfort them, telling them that the new King wou'd govern them better; excuſing his own ill Conduct by the Advice of his Miniſters, for which he appear'd mightily troubl'd. The melancholy Words, and the Fall of a Prince who was driven from his Throne after a Reign of twenty-eight Years, had all the Effect one can imagine on his Subjects, who never had an Averſion to him; and by his extreme Humanity, a Virtue little known to his Predeceſſors, he had always made them bear with him, tho' they deſpis'd his Indolence and his ſlaviſh Subjection to his Eunuchs. But whatever Reaſon there was to condemn his Miſgovernment, and tho' by his Weakneſs and Careleſsneſs, he had dug the Pit into which he was falling, yet his Faults were forgotten, and their Hearts were wholly taken up with his Miſery. The Greatneſs of his Diſgrace, ſwallowed up all other Reflections; and the People being more troubl'd for their King than for themſelves, abandon'd themſelves to Lamentation, and made more piercing Cries, than all the Horrors they had endur'd during a long Siege cou'd force from them; which were heard even as far as *Zulfa*.

In the midſt of this dreadful Deſolation, *Schah-Huſſein* return'd to his Palace; and the next Day, the 22d of *October*, he diſpatch'd Plenipotentiaries to the Camp of the *Aghvans*, to conclude and ſign the Articles of Capitulation; which were agreed on and ſign'd the ſame Day.

And on the Day following, the 23d of *October*, remarkable for ſo ſtrange an Event, the *Aghvans* ſent Horſes for the King, and his principal Officers; there being not one left in *Iſpahan*, where all were eaten during the Famine. *Schah Huſſein* and his Train mounted the Horſes the *Aghvans* had ſent, and went thro' the City towards their Camp. Tho' the People had been prepared for this Ceremony, they had much ado to ſupport themſelves at the Sight of it. They did not burſt out into Cries, as they had done two Days before. A ſullen, doleful Silence expreſs'd more Sorrow, and was more moving than their loud Laments. And in their wondring, ghaſtly Looks one might ſee that ſuch Aſtoniſhment, Pity, Conſternation, and Deſpair had ſeiz'd their Hearts, as ſtifled all Complaints. In the mean time, *Schah Huſſein* advanced ſorrowfully to his fine Houſe at *Farabat*, in an Equipage very different from the Royal Pomp with which he was wont to go to that Palace of Pleaſure, adorn'd with all that Coſt and Art could produce to render it delightful. It was the only Houſe whoſe Preſervation he had at heart, as has been already obſerv'd, and the firſt which his Rebel Subjects took from him. His Miniſters and Officers griev'd more for their Maſter's Diſgrace than he did himſelf; becauſe they foreſaw better the diſmal Conſequences of it. They follow'd him with down-caſt Looks, and an Air of Confuſion and Deſpair; in which might alſo be diſcovered the ſecret Indignation of mortify'd Pride reduc'd to creep to *Barbarians*, whom the leaſt Subalterns at Court were wont to treat with the utmoſt Contempt and Inſolence.

While *Schah-Huſſein* was drawing near the Camp of the *Aghvans*, the Chiefs of that Nation endeavoured, tho' in vain, to prevail with *Myrr-Maghmud* to go forth and meet him; which was decent for him to do, inaſmuch as the King was to be his Father-in-law: But *Myrr-Maghmud*, as is common with Perſons advanced on a ſudden above their natural Sphere, who are always fearful of doing too much, was not gain'd by their Repreſentations, but proudly reſolv'd to expect the King in one of the Halls of the Palace; and when he enter'd, would hardly move a ſtep or two to receive him.

Schah-Huſſein, on the contrary, no ſooner ſaw him, than he ran to him with open Arms, and after having embrac'd him, and kiſs'd him with great Tokens of Friendſhip, he took his Crown out of his Boſom, and put it on his Head, declaring him, in Preſence of the Grandees of both Nations, his Succeſſor to the Throne, to the Excluſion of his own Children and their Poſterity. He then pray'd him, according to the Conditions of the Treaty, to regard him for the future as his Father; not to meddle with his Wives; to treat the Princes of the Blood Royal as his younger Brothers, and to take care that they wanted nothing in the *Haram*, where they were to be ſhut up according to the Cuſtom of *Perſia*. He alſo recommended to him the good Government of the Kingdom; an exact Diſtribution of Juſtice; not to overburthen the People with extraordinary Taxes, and to content himſelf with what they had been accuſtom'd to pay.

Whether it was that *Myrr-Maghmud* obſerv'd that his Haughtineſs had diſpleas'd the Grandees of his own Nation, or that the King's humbling himſelf and yielding up the Royalty ſo frankly, had mollify'd his hard Heart, he began to ſhew a little more Humanity, and invited *Schah-Huſſein* to ſit down with him on a Sopha; where he took a lower Seat for himſelf, and gave him the left Hand, which is the Place of Honour in *Perſia*. *Schah-Huſſein*, after this, deliver'd to him a Writing ſign'd by himſelf and all his Miniſters, which transferr'd the Sovereignty to him and his Family; without ſtipulating any thing more for the King and his Children, than the Preſervation of his own Honour and the Lives of his Children. Upon which the *Mufti*, or Chief Prieſt of the *Aghvans*, advanc'd; and having ſaid ſome Prayers over the depos'd King and the new one, both bending before him, he pronoun'd a ſet Form of Curſes and Execrations which he threaten'd ſhould fall on the Head of either of the two who broke the Articles both had agreed upon.

As ſoon as this Ceremony was over, the Grandees of both Nations did Homage to the new King according to the Manner of *Perſia*: that is, by proſtrating themſelves thrice before him and afterwards kiſſing his Knees. The ſame Day the *Aghvan* Troops were ſent to take poſſeſſion of *Iſpahan.* They poſted themſelves in the principal Quarters of the City, and ſecured the Royal Palace, which was open to them. At the ſame time, a General Amneſty for what had paſt, was proclaim'd: and the next Day, the new King, attended by the *Perſian* Miniſters, and the Chief Officers of his Army, march'd to *Iſpahan*; while *Schah-Huſſein* with an Eſcorte of *Aghvans* took another Way to it.

Sultan Maghmud, (for ſo we muſt now name him,) made his Entry into the Capital with all the Splendour of a Conqueror. He went directly to the Palace of the *Perſian* Kings; and being conducted to the ſtately Hall, where thoſe Kings were inſtall'd at their Acceſſion to the Crown, and receiv'd the Homage of their Subjects, he plac'd himſelf on the Throne, and took the Oath of Fidelity of the Miniſters of State, Eunuchs, the Grandees of the Kingdom, the principal Citizens of *Iſpahan*, and the Military Officers: All whom he afterwards magnificently treated. The ſame Day Proviſions were brought into the City in ſuch Quantities, that as much Bread might have been bought for one Crown, as the Day before wou'd have coſt two hundred: which was a great Relief to the famiſh'd Citizens. The Proclamation of the Peace, and the Security which was in *Iſpahan*, by the good Order and Diſcipline of the *Aghvan* Soldiers, invited all thoſe together again that had left it during the Siege; by which it was ſoon repeopled.

Myrr-Maghmud finding himſelf in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Throne, ſignaliz'd the Beginning of his Reign by an Act of Juſtice which one would not have expected from an Uſurper; and he was very politick in doing it. He cauſed all thoſe who had correſponded with him to be ſeiz'd and executed for Treaſon in betraying their Sovereign; their Memory was branded with Infamy, their Eſtates confiſcated, and their Bodies left without Burial. There was none but *Machmet-Wali*, General of *Schah Huſſein*'s Army, whom he was content only to impriſon for Life; becauſe as 'twas believ'd, he had taken an Oath not to put him to Death. But he ſeiz'd his Eſtate, and beſtow'd the Hereditary Principality

3050

pality of *Havuſa* upon a Couſin-German of *Machmet's*, who had ſerv'd in the *Aghvan* Army; engaging to put him in poſſeſſion of it, as ſoon as he could bend his Arms that Way. He declar'd openly that there was no Good to be expected from Men who had betray'd their King; and that they would betray him in his Turn, if Opportunity offer'd.

On the contrary, he ſhew'd a great deal of Eſteem for the *Athemat-Doulet*, who had been very faithful to his King, and teſtify'd publickly, that he took well his Reſtrictions to the Oath of Allegiance when he was ſworn; and humbly pray'd that it might not be expected of him to draw his Sword againſt Prince *Thamas*. Which was a laudable Inſtance of Fidelity: but we muſt allow that it came a little too late, after the bad Service he had done his old Maſter in turning his Back ſo unſeaſonably as he did at the Battel of *Giulnabat*. 'Tis true, what he then did was more out of Jealouſy of his Colleague in the Generalſhip, than with Deſign to betray his Maſter: but the Damage done *Schah-Huſſein* by it, was not the leſs; and that Deſertion was the firſt Cauſe of his Ruin.

Nothing can be more reaſonable and wiſe, than Sultan *Maghmud's* Conduct in his Diſpoſal of the Adminiſtration of his Government. He conſider'd that if he employ'd ploy'd Miniſters of his own Nation, it would be long before they would underſtand the Management of Affairs: and beſides, the Publick would not have the ſame Confidence in Foreigners, as in their own Countrymen. On this Account it was, that he kept the Prime Miniſter in his Place, and had a particular Eſteem for him: and all other Miniſters in their ſeveral Juriſdictions were continued. But not to truſt too blindly to their Fidelity, he joyn'd one of his own Nation to each of them; from whence he reap'd double Advantage: for at the ſame time that theſe Overſeers had a ſtrict Eye on the Conduct of the *Perſian* Officers, They alſo inſtructed themſelves in the Buſineſs of the ſeveral Offices.

There was only one Poſt, that of *Divan-Beg*, or Chief Juſtice, which he beſtow'd on an *Aghvan*, a Man of known Probity, as the *Perſians* themſelves acknowledg'd, in the Courſe of his Miniſtry; and were ſurpris'd to ſee Juſtice diſpers'd with more Integrity, Uprightneſs and Diſintereſtedneſs by a *Foreigner* and a *Barbarian*, than it had ever been by their own Magiſtrates. Indeed the new King ſo well regulated Matters, and govern'd with ſo much Equity and Moderation, that it may be ſaid of him, that he only wanted a lawful Title, and a Right to reign, better acquir'd, and leſs odious, to be a Prince without Reproach.

Sultan *Maghmud* employ'd a Month in ſettling Matters in the Capital; and having well eſtabliſh'd his Power there, he thought of ſecuring it abroad. He had the old King and the Princes of the Blood, except Prince *Thamas*, at his Mercy in *Iſpahan*; and nothing could have given him any Diſturbance in the poſſeſſion of the Throne, if Prince *Thamas* had been alſo in his Hands. He judg'd rightly, that as long as there was a Sprig of the Royal Family remaining at liberty, it would not be eaſy for him to ſecure the Sovereignty in his own; and that the *Perſians* would always be ready to take hold of any Opportunity to return to the Obedience of their old Maſters: which determin'd Sultan *Maghmud* to reduce the City of *Casbin*, where he underſtood Prince *Thamas* then was.

He gave this important Commiſſion to *Aman-Ulla*, a Commander in whom he put moſt Confidence, and who was next to himſelf the chief Man in the Nation and Army. He gave him 8000 Men of his beſt Troops, and ſent him about the End of *November* to *Casbin*, with Orders to demand the Place: and in caſe it was not ſurrender'd to him, to take it by Force; and eſpecially to ſeize Prince *Thamas*, and ſend him to *Iſpahan*. He reckon'd that if he cou'd once make himſelf Maſter of the City of *Casbin*, which heretofore was the Capital of the Kingdom, till *Schah-Abas* the Great remov'd the Court to *Iſpahan*, the other Cities of *Perſia* would follow her Example and ſubmit.

The City of *Casbin* was very much fallen to Decay in 150 Years time; for ſo long ago it was that the Kings of *Perſia* ceas'd to make it the Place of their Reſidence: *Tavernier* ſpeaks of it as a great Village, perhaps becauſe 'tis encompaſs'd with Walls, and half of it is Gardens: but ſo are moſt of the Cities in *Perſia*. 'Tis ſituated in the Province of *Hierak-Agemi*.

Prince *Thamas*, who was then there, having Information of the *Aghvan* General's March, and of his Deſigns, left the Town which was defenceleſs, bid the Inhabitants make the beſt Terms they could with the Rebels, and reſerving himſelf for ſome other Occaſion, retir'd to *Tauris*.

The Citizens of *Casbin* being taken unprovided in a City open on all Sides, and having no Troops to oppoſe the *Aghvans*, receiv'd them without any Reſiſtance. *Aman-Ulla* finding himſelf Maſter of ſo great a City, did not forget himſelf, but reſolv'd to do there as *Maghmud* had done at *Iſpahan*, and got as much Riches as he could; which he exacted in ſo violent and tyrannical a manner, that he provok'd the Inhabitants to enter into a ſecret Conſpiracy againſt him and his *Aghvans*, who being diſpers'd up and down the

City in *Caravanſeras*, and publick Houſes, as well as private, were the more eaſily to be maſter'd. The Conſpirators, who were indeed the greateſt Part of the Citizens, agreed to fall upon them in the Night-time; and because an extraordinary Signal might have alarm'd the *Aghvans*, there was to be no other than blowing a Horn, the uſual Way of calling People to the Bath. Meaſures being concerted for this Enterprize, the Inhabitants obſerved that the *Aghvans* got together in the Afternoon preceding the Night when it was to be executed, in greater haſte than ordinary. They thought by this that they were diſcover'd; and to go through with their Work before they were prevented, they took Arms immediately, and fell upon the *Aghvans*, who tho' ſurpriz'd, defended themſelves at firſt well enough, but at laſt were overpower'd by Numbers, and 4000 of them put to the Sword. The reſt fled in the greateſt Diſorder imaginable, leaving their Baggage and all their Pillage behind them.

Had the People of *Casbin*, when they laid this Plot, got Troops ready to intercept the Runaways, or had Prince *Thamas* known of it, and placed an Ambuſcade to cut them off, which he might eaſily have done, and then have march'd to *Iſpahan*, where the Inhabitants would infallibly have riſen at his Arrival, he without doubt would have recover'd the Crown, and not an *Aghvan* would have been left alive. Of the 8000 Men whom *Aman-Ulla* brought to *Casbin*, the choiceſt Troops of his Nation, half were kill'd in *Casbin*; 500 of thoſe that eſcap'd the Fury of the People retir'd to *Candahar*; and as to the others, of whom the greateſt Part were wounded, ſeveral dy'd of their Wounds, of Cold, Hunger, and Want, ſcarce 1000 of them fit for Service returned to *Iſpahan*. Their General *Aman-Ulla*, who was himſelf wounded dangerouſly, was cur'd by the Skill and Care of a *French* Surgeon named *Hermet*; but out of too great Greedineſs of Wealth, he not only loſt what he had pillag'd at *Casbin*, but alſo what he had heap'd up before, which with his Baggage he left to the Diſcretion of the Men of *Casbin*.

The Remains of this broken Army returned to *Iſpahan* in *January* 1723. The Conſternation which ſeiz'd the *Aghvans* on the News of this Defeat, and of the ſad Condition which the few Soldiers who ſav'd themſelves were in, was ſo great, that if the *Perſians* of *Iſpahan* had known how to make their Advantage of it, they were able to have deſtroy'd their Conquerors by a general Riſing: But there being no body to head them, and each Man jealous of his Neighbour, and all betraying one another, they gave the *Aghvans* time to look about them, and recover out of the Fright they were in; after which

Maghmud acted the moſt cruel and bloody Tragedy that ever was known.

This Uſurper, who ſaw with a Glance of his Eye the Danger he was in, and that he ow'd his Safety only to the Cowardice and Baſeneſs of the *Perſians*, perceiv'd that with the few *Aghvans* he had, who were not the tenth Part of the People of *Iſpahan*, he was every Day expos'd to Deſtruction, if they ſhould ever come to the Knowledge of their own Strength, or any *Perſian* Lord have Zeal and Reſolution enough to undertake any thing: This Conſideration ſtruck him ſo home, that not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Iſpahan*, as long as there were *Perſians* enough left there to make head againſt him, if they had a mind to it, he reſolved to maſſacre them, as we are about to relate.

He choſe the 25th of *January* for this ſtrange Execution. In the Morning he ſent to invite 300 *Perſian* Lords and chief Citizens to a royal Feſtival, and as faſt as they came they were murder'd, and their dead Bodies, after they were ſtripp'd, flung naked into the Square of *Meidan*, juſt before the King's Palace. None of the maſſacred *Perſians* was more pity'd than the Son of *Mirza Roſtom*, of the Houſe of the Princes of *Georgia*. He was a Youth of about twelve Years of Age, who had been adopted even by one of the *Aghvans*. He threw himſelf into the Arms of ſome of the Chiefs of that

Nation, conjuring them with Tears to ſave his Life. They kept him in the middle of them, and would have ſav'd him, but he was ſnatch'd from them, and as he ſtuck to a Tree, the cruel Butchers ſlew him without Mercy.

Maghmud was not contented with the Death of the *Perſian* Lords; that there might remain none of their Race, he caus'd their Children to be alſo maſſacred with the ſame Barbarity, or greater if poſſible. There were about 200 young Gentlemen, as well *Perſians* as *Georgians*, who were bred up in a College to acquire Learning, and the Knowledge of military Exerciſes. Theſe were taken thence, and led out of the City; and when they were in the Country, the *Aghvans* let them go, and bad them run for their Lives; which the poor Lads endeavouring to do, thoſe *Barbarians* follow'd them, as if they had been hunting of Game; kill'd them in Sport, and ſtrow'd the Field with their Carcaſes. The Pretence for ſuch horrible Cruelty was a ſham Plot ſaid to be formed by theſe young Gentlemen againſt the Life of *Maghmud*; but the Uſurper's Aim was to ſecure his Uſurpation by the Extinction of all the Nobility.

The unmerciful Fury of this *Barbarian* ſtopp'd not there. There remain'd about 3000 *Perſian* Soldiers of *Schah Huſſein*'s Guards, and others who had ſworn Fidelity to the Uſurper, and had been incorporated in his

Troops. He was afraid theſe Men would upon Occaſion turn againſt him; and to free himſelf from that Danger, he order'd them to be drawn up in one of the Courts of the Palace, under colour of receiving a Bounty, which the Kings of *Perſia* were wont to give their Guards, and conſiſted of a Feaſt of *Pilau*, Rice and Meat mixed together; and while they were eating it, their Arms were taken from them, and then the *Aghvans* fell upon them and ſlew them all. 'Tis certain, the Uſurper ran a great Risk here; and if thoſe Wretches, knowing they were to be diſarm'd, had defended themſelves, 'twou'd have caus'd an Inſurrection in the City, and probably have ended in the Death of every *Aghvan* in it.

This is what happen'd on the 25th of *January*; but on the following Days there was a continual Search made after the *Perſian* Soldiers, and all *Perſians* fit to bear Arms; of whom ſo great a Number were maſſacred, that many Houſes were left empty; and as the Carcaſſes were always flung out into the Gardens, there were none even in the moſt by-places which were not full of them.

The Conſpiracy at *Casbin* had infallibly been the Ruin of the *Aghvans*, if it had been carry'd on in Concert with *Iſpahan*; but what the *Perſians* ought to have done, the Uſurper ſuppos'd they deſign'd to do, and that they would riſe in the Capital as they aroſe in *Casbin*, if he had not prevented it by murdering the Ringleaders of it. To give a Colour to this Accuſation, he ſpar'd the Lives of about twenty-five *Perſian* Lords, to have it thought that they had diſcover'd the Plot. But the true and only Motive of this Butchery, was the Neceſſity he ſaw himſelf under, having ſo few *Aghvans* with him, to diſable the *Perſians* to undertake any thing againſt him. However, this great Slaughter was ſo little a Security to him, that he propos'd to diſpeople the City of *Iſpahan*, and put Foreigners in the Places of the *Perſians*, as he did not long after; and to do it with the leaſt Risk, he began with cauſing it to be publiſh'd, That he gave Liberty to all *Perſians* to retire; which was not ſo much a Permiſſion, as a tacit Command to them to be gone, at leaſt to all thoſe that were able to bear Arms: for though a great Number left the City, the ſecret Search for the reſt was continu'd; and the *Barbarians* having made choice of a certain Number of young *Perſians*, to train them up in Arms, the ſame Pretext was made uſe of to take off the others, whoſe Throats were cut in private.

If all this Slaughter was tamely born by the *Perſians* of *Iſpahan*, without daring to defend themſelves, or even to murmur, it was not the Fault of the Men of *Ben-Iſpahan*, their Neighbours, who after the Capital was taken, did not give over ſolliciting them to riſe, promiſing them all manner of Aſſiſtance on their Part. Nay they went farther: for tho' the *Iſpahaners* attempted nothing againſt their Tyrants, the Men of *Ben-Iſpahan* made Excurſions in the Night-time to the very Gates of the Capital, where they kill'd ſeveral *Aghvans*, and from whence they brought off ſeveral Pieces of Cannon. It is more than probable, that if Prince *Thamas*, who amus'd himſelf elſewhere, had come then with ſome Troops, as the *Perſians* gave out to their great Damage, he wou'd infallibly have caus'd a great Revolution in the City by the Help of the Men of *Iſpahan*. But nothing could ſtir them up; ſo that the *Aghvans* exercis'd their Cruelty, and glutted their Avarice without Controul. I ſay their Avarice, for that was uppermoſt in all their Barbarities: and 'twas obſerv'd that they fell upon the moſt rich, without giving much Diſturbance to thoſe by whom they cou'd get nothing, and whoſe Poverty was their Safeguard. And tho' according to the Cuſtom of the *Indians*, and the Nations bordering on them, the *Aghvans* made it a Duty of Religion to appeaſe the Manes of their Countrymen ſlain at *Casbin*, by the Effuſion of the Blood of the *Perſians*, they choſe no Sacrifices but what were rich; and the more willingly they made Victims of them, becauſe the more Wealth was to be got by their Spoils.

Tho' a great Quantity of Proviſions had been brought into *Iſpahan* after the End of the Siege, and the Retreat of a great Multitude of *Perſians* who took hold of the Permiſſion that was given them to go forth, had diminiſh'd the Conſumption; yet the *Aghvans* had not been there three Months, before the Scarcity began again to be felt; and it was not poſſible for it to be otherwiſe. The Neighbourhood of *Iſpahan* was deſtroy'd during the Siege; and the Towns and little Cities that ſtood out againſt the Rebels while the War laſted, continued to do ſo after the Treaty was concluded, repulſing them as oft as they came to attack them. So that the Proviſions which the City was ſupply'd with at firſt being conſum'd daily, without any new Supplies, the *Aghvans* were near ſtarving in the midſt of all their Conqueſts.

It was therefore requiſite to ſend ſomebody to fetch in Neceſſaries, which none were in haſte to furniſh them with. *Nazyr-Ulla*, one of the principal Captains of the *Aghvans*, a Man us'd to robbing, at which he was very dexterous, was pick'd out for this Commiſſion. He took 3000 Men with him, and was order'd to compel the Towns and Villages of the Province to carry their Proviſions to *Iſpahan*, and to plunder the Places that refus'd to do it. He accordingly ſubdued ſome Towns which were defenceleſs; forc'd others, and ſold the Inhabitants for Slaves. But finding more Reſiſtance than he expected, moſt of them repulſing him very couragiouſly, he reſolv'd to break into the Middle of *Perſia*, and fall on thoſe Provinces that had not ſuffer'd in the War. To this Purpoſe, he drew off to North-weſt of *Iſpahan*; and, croſſing the Deſarts, he made an Irruption of two hundred Leagues in length by Ways which were thought impracticable: and coming on the Provinces on a ſudden, he ſtruck Terror into all the Country, each Man providing for his own Safety. The Towns, Villages and Houſes were forſaken, and the Enemy became Maſter of All, without ſtriking a Stroke: and he manag'd his Matters ſo well, that at three Months End, he return'd to *Iſpahan* with 50000 Camels loaden as well with Proviſions as other Booty. 'Twas high time for that Supply to arrive, or *Iſpahan* muſt have endur'd a ſecond Famine. What is moſt aſtoniſhing, is the Indolence of the *Perſians* from whom *Nazyr-Ulla* met with no Reſiſtance in the Compaſs of above 400 Leagues going and coming, with leſs than 3000 Men; every one contenting himſelf with getting into a Place of Security, and looking quietly on, while their Country was pillag'd, and their Goods carry'd off by a Handful of *Barbarians*, againſt whom no body durſt make head; except a Stud-Keeper who had about

2000

2000 Men with him, as a Guard to the King's Horſes feeding in the Fields of *Arabia*. He had the Courage to attack this little Army of *Aghvans*; and ſucceeded ſo well as to bring off a good Number of Camels loaden with ſufficient Booty to make amends for the loſs of the King's Horſes, which he had been oblig'd to abandon in purſuit of the Enemy.

One of the greateſt Advantages which the Uſurper *Maghmud* got by *Nazyr-Ulla*'s Excurſion, and which he was very glad of, was the repeopling of *Iſpahan* by it: *Nazyr-Ulla* bringing back with him a Colony of People, whoſe Fidelity was not ſuſpected.

Between *Babylon* and *Hamadan*, there was a Nation that occupy'd the Plain, and liv'd the greateſt Part of the Year in Tents. This Nation was call'd *Dergeſins*. They liv'd heretofore in *Meſopotamia*, when *Schah-Abas*, the Reſtorer of the *Parſian* Monarchy, made them paſs the *Tigris*, and gave them thoſe Plains to inhabit; permitting them to follow the Sect of the *Sunnis* in their Religion, which was *Mahometan*, and the ſame as the *Turks*, and was profeſs'd alſo by the *Aghvans*.

Nazyr-Ulla having penetrated as far as their Country, gain'd upon them ſo much, that he engag'd them to quit it to go and ſettle at *Iſpahan*. 'Tis pretended that the principal Perſons of the Nation invited him

to

to come amongſt them, on purpoſe to negotiate with him on this Tranſmigration; which the other *Dergeſins* were not very well pleas'd with, preferring their Tents to the fine Houſes at *Iſpahan*. There was about 100000 Souls in all their Families, a ſtrong robuſt People, of whom a good Number liſted in the *Aghvan* Troops, and form'd a Body of 6000 Men.

But with this new Reinforcement the *Aghvan* Army was not half ſo numerous as when they came before *Iſpahan*; and the Tranſmigration of the *Dergeſins* did not fill a tenth Part of the vacant Places occaſion'd by the Siege. Wherefore the Uſurper *Maghmud* took other Meaſures to recruit his Army, and repeople the Capital. He ſent *Eſzik-Aghaſi*, Maſter of the Houſhold, with great Sums of Money to *Candahar* to raiſe Men. He was alſo loaden with Preſents for the principal Families in that City, and for his particular Friends. And ſeveral of the *Aghvans* out of Love to their own Country and their Families, having return'd by Troops to *Candahar*, and even whole Companies having march'd back with flying Colours, without demanding a Diſcharge: To prevent the like for the future, *Maghmud* order'd that the Families of thoſe that were left with him, and the others that were to be liſted, ſhou'd tranſport themſelves to *Iſpahan*. For which Tranſportation he ſent

8000 Camels to *Candahar*, beſides thoſe that were taken up by the way for that Service. The firſt Caravan that came from thence to *Iſpahan*; arriv'd in *June*, after a March of three Months; for 'tis no leſs from *Candahar* to the Capital.

Other ſuch Tranſportations were made in the two following Years, but none ſo large as the firſt we mention'd. Nay, the laſt Caravan conſiſted only of 3000 Camels, which came in *Maghmuds*'s Life-time, and with which arriv'd his own Mother, in an Equipage that ill ſuited with the Greatneſs of her Son's Fortune. Since the Death of *Myrr-Weis*, ſhe had married an Officer of the *Janiſaries* nam'd *Oſman-Paſha*. She let the firſt Caravans go without her, becauſe ſhe cou'd not reſolve to leave her own Country, and perform a March of three Months croſs Deſarts and Places uninhabited to ſee her Son. But ſhe was told ſo much of his Power and Riches, that at laſt her Curioſity and Ambition were mov'd by it, much more than her motherly Affection: ſhe ſet out with the laſt Caravan, and arriv'd at *Iſpahan*, mounted on a Camel which, except Scarlet Houſing, had nothing to diſtinguiſh it from the reſt. She had no Women, no Officers, no Servants with her when ſhe croſs'd the *Meidan*, and came to the principal Gate of the new King's Palace half naked, and what Cloaths ſhe had all in Tatters, ravenouſly gnawing a great Rhadiſh ſhe held in her Hand, more like a Witch than the Mother of a great King.)

The *Aghvans* muſt needs have a great Contempt for the *Perſians*, to undertake theſe Tranſmigrations with ſo few Precautions as they did. 'Twas three Months Journey from *Candahar* to *Iſpahan*: The *Aghvans* were not Maſters of an Inch of Ground in all that Way. Beſides, the *Perſians* had a ſtrong Gariſon eight Days Journey from *Candahar*, called *Syſtan*, by which the *Aghvans* muſt neceſſarily paſs, after a very troubleſome and fatiguing March over ſundry Deſarts, where there is not a drop of Water. Further, they muſt march thro' Defiles, where a ſmall Body of Troops might ſtop whole Armies. Nevertheleſs, tho' the Caravans had but very weak Convoys, they always travell'd quietly, none offering to give them the leaſt Diſturbance. In which one can't tell what moſt to admire, the Negligence of the *Perſians*, or the Security of the *Aghvans*, who would ſoon have been reduc'd to a very ſmall Number, if the Communication between *Candahar* and *Iſpahan* had been cut off, and no Recruits could have come from the former, without which the *Aghvans* could not have maintain'd themſelves; but would have thought themſelves happy, if they could have got home again by abandoning their new Conqueſt. Their Army being reinforc'd, as well by Recruits from *Candahar*, as by the 6000 *Dengeſins* whom *Nazyr-Ulla* had liſted, as alſo by a good Number of *Turks* taken into *Maghmud*'s Party, he began to think of employing them abroad, having nothing at home to oppoſe him; and Prince *Thamas* giving him Leiſure by very unſeaſonable Occupations, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Though the *Aghvans* were Maſters of *Iſpahan*, their Dominion did not extend beyond the Walls of the Capital, where they were, as one may ſay, inveſted by the little Towns round about it, which ſtill held out againſt them. Thoſe that *Nazyr-Ulla* had ſubdued in his Excurſions, remained not long in Subjection: They took Arms with more Heat than before. So that *Maghmud* was forced to ſend another Army to reduce the neighbouring Cantons, before he ventur'd to let them penetrate farther into the Kingdom. *Zeberdeſt-Kan* was charg'd with this Commiſſion. He was not an *Aghvan* by Birth, but having been taken by them in an Excurſion twenty Years before, when he was very young, he had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf very much amongſt them; and from a Slave and a Mule-Driver, as he was at firſt, he like another *Ventidius* was advanced to one of the chief Commands in the Army. *Ventidius*, as is well known, was taken in *Aſcoli*, and led in Triumph by *Pompey*'s Father. He alſo was a Mule-Driver at firſt, but he roſe to be

General of *Mark Anthony*'s Army againſt the *Parthians*, whom he vanquiſh'd in two ſet Battels, in the laſt of which their King *Pacorus* was ſlain. The Fortune of *Zeberdeſt-Kan* was not unlike that of the *Roman* General's; and in the Execution of his Commiſſion, he did not ſtand trifling about Towns and Villages as *Nazyr-Ulla* had done, but attack'd a Caſtle, called *Giez*, three Hours Journey from *Iſpahan*, being convinced that if he made himſelf Maſter of that Place, which was ſtrong for a *Perſian* Caſtle, all the Towns and Villages of that Canton would ſoon ſubmit to him. However, he would not eaſily have maſter'd it, had it not been for a *Gaure*, who being us'd to dig up the Earth for making Pits, dug a ſubterraneous Paſſage, by which he conducted him into the Middle of the Caſtle, where he ſurpris'd the Gariſon, when they leaſt ſuſpected any ſuch Deſign againſt them. The taking of this Caſtle, which he furniſh'd with good Troops, made all the neighbouring Country yield to him; and what was of much more Importance, diſpos'd the Inhabitants of *Ben-Iſpahan* to enter into a Treaty of Accommodation, which till then they would never hear of.

It has been ſhewn already, that no City in *Perſia* had given the *Aghvans* ſo much Trouble as that Town had done, whoſe Reputation only had kept the neighbouring Cantons from ſubmitting. *Zeberdeſt-Kan*, who had before been tampering with them, had no ſooner taken the Caſtle of *Giez*, than he renew'd his Negotiation, offering the Men of *Ben-Iſpahan*, in the Name of the Uſurper, not only their own Conditions, but alſo to have them ſign'd by all the Officers of the Army, who ſhould be Guarantees for the Performance of them. The taking of the Caſtle of *Giez*, the Diſtance of Prince *Thamas*, who ſhew'd no Life in him, and the little Likelihood there was that they ſhould long hold out by themſelves againſt all the Power of the *Aghvans*, made them more inclinable to hearken to his Propoſals; to which they at laſt agreed, and came to an Agreement with the Uſurper. But as much as they had been his Enemies before the Accommodation, they were as faithful to him after it; and 'twas well for him they were ſo. *Maghmud* not forgetting the Miſchiefs they had done him, eſpecially the Death of one of his Brothers, and of ſeveral other of his Relations, whom they cruelly murder'd after they had defeated him in Battel, ſet divers Machines at work to make them take a falſe Step, that might juſtify his breaking the Capitulation. He ſent Emiſſaries to propoſe a Riſing, and ſuggeſt to them the taking up Arms again. Tho' theſe Emiſſaries were not ſuſpected at *Ben-Iſpahan*, but were thought to act ſincerely; yet the Force of the Oath they had taken to *Maghmud*, and the ſtrict Obligation they took themſelves to be under by it, prevail'd over all other Conſiderations; inſomuch that very far from hearkening to theſe treacherous Emiſſaries, they ſent them bound to *Maghmud*, who by this Act of Fidelity began to be reconciled to the People of *Ben-Iſpahan*. But that which gain'd his good Will entirely, was a ſignal Piece of Service they did him by delivering up *Luft-Ali-Kan*, the Man whom he moſt dreaded of all the *Perſian* Nation. The Uſurper was ſo pleas'd with *Zeberdeſt-Kan*'s good Conduct and Succeſs in the Expedition of *Giez*, that he preferr'd him to all the Officers of his Nation in his Choice of a General to ſucceed *Nazyr-Ulla*, the moſt ſtout and ſucceſsful of all his Generals, who dy'd in the manner we are about to relate.

At the ſame time that he ſent *Zeberdeſt-Kan* to reduce the Cantons about the Capital, he order'd *Nazyr-Ulla* to march againſt *Chiras* near the *Perſian* Gulf with the *Aghvans* under his Command, and the 6000 *Dergeſins* who had liſted under him. 'Tis twelve Days March from *Iſpahan* to *Chiras*. The Terror of his Name only made him Maſter of all the Towns in his Rout; for he was the moſt famous of all the *Aghvan* Generals. Several Cities ſent their Keys to him; and tho' he expected to find more Reſiſtance at *Chiras*, he doubted not to take the Place after ſome Attacks; but a Musket-ſhot took him in the firſt Aſſault, and by his Death put an end to all his Hopes, to the inexpreſſible Grief of his Army, which he us'd to lead to Conqueſt; and who gave too ſenſible Tokens of their Grief, by the cruel funeral Rites with which they honour'd him, according to the barbarous Superſtition of that Nation, who learnt it of the *Indians*. For after the whole Army had march'd round his Body with Colours downwards trailing on the Ground, they made their Slaves and *Perſian* Priſoners perform the ſame Ceremony, and then cut their Throats at his Feet. They ſlew the fitteſt of his Horſes, cut their Carcaſſes to bits, and divided the Fleſh among the Soldiers for a funeral Feaſt, as is the Cuſtom among the *Aghvans*; and no funeral Oration could fit him better, than the Dejection his Army fell into on his Death. They loſt moſt of that warlike Fierceneſs which they acquir'd by fighting under him, who never was beaten, and whom they thought invincible. They confeſs'd they did not expect to have ſuch another General; and if they themſelves had not then known the Importance of their Loſs in him, the ſudden Revolution caus'd in the Canton where they were would have convinc'd them of it. In effect, no ſooner was the Death of *Nazyr-Ulla* known, than all the Places that had ſubmitted to him in his March revolted and took up Arms again, as if they had yielded more to the Reputation of the General than the Strength of his Army;

and this one Man being dead, all the reſt of the *Aghvans* could not make them afraid. He was very human to thoſe that ſubmitted to him, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Maſters. In an Irruption he made on the Side of *Perie-Diſaret*, three Days Journey from *Iſpahan*, he found ſeveral great Towns inhabited by *Georgians* of the King's Guard, who ſwore Obedience to him. *Schah-Abas* after having drawn their Anceſtors from *Georgia*, plac'd them in this Canton, which they began to inhabit one hundred thirty Years before. He oblig'd them at the ſame time to embrace the *Mehometan* Religion, diſpenſing with their drinking Wine, without which they wou'd not have conform'd to *Mahomet's* Doctrine. *Naſyr-Ulla* being inform'd of theſe Particulars, was the firſt to preſs them to return to their old Religion. In order to which he ſent for a *Georgian* Prieſt from *Iſpahan*; which he did leſs out of Affection to *Chriſtianity*, than out of Hatred to the Sect of *Rafi*, which is that of the *Perſians*; A Sect much more odious to the *Sunnis*, or Followers of *Omar*, ſuch as the *Turks* and the *Aghvans*, than *Chriſtianity* itſelf. He was pretty tall, but otherwiſe ill ſhap'd enough. He was a great Friend to the *Armenians*, and their declar'd Protector. He was term'd *Kior-Sultan*, or the Blind Lord, becauſe he us'd to keep one of his Eyes ſhut. He learn'd the

Trade of War by robbing: for before the laſt Wars of *Candahar*, he often plunder'd the Caravans, and ſometimes made Incurſions as far as *Iſpahan*. The Uſurper *Maghmud*, who knew what a Loſs his Death was to him, caus'd a ſtately Monument to be erected for him near the *Armenian* Church-Yard, and gave an Endowment to two Prieſts to pray for him near his Tomb, and to keep a Holy Fire there, he being of the Religion of the *Gaures*, who worſhip Fire. As he was always ſucceſsful in his military Enterprizes, he was ſuſpected of Sorcery, which 'twas ſaid he learn'd of the *Indians*, always made uſe of in War, and ow'd ſome of his Victories to it. But as much a Sorcerer as 'tis pretended he was, he could not ward off the Musket-ball that kill'd him: and whatever Suſpicion he lay under on that Account, it does not hinder the *Aghvans* from viſiting his Tomb with great Veneration, and honouring him not only as a Hero but as a *Santon*, or Saint of the Nation.

How diſcourag'd ſoever the Army before *Chiras* was at the Loſs of this famous General, they did not give over the Siege. They reſum'd it with more Vigour than before, under the Command of *Zeberdeſt-Kan*, who was ſent to be their General, and had the Glory to be preferr'd to all the general Officers of the Nation, in ſucceeding the moſt renown'd Captain in their Armies.

The Governor of *Chiras*, who till then had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf above all the other Governors of Places in the Defence of this; and had been verycareful to get it well fortified, forgot however one thing, without which, all the Fortifications in the World ſignify nothing: and that was to furniſh it well with Proviſions. He grounded his Hope of keeping the Place, much leſs in his Ability or the Valour of his Garriſon, than on the Capacity and Experience of an old *Arabian* War-Officer nam'd *Hagi-Bakir*, who was grown old in the Trade of Arms. He gave him a great Sum of Money to engage him to defend the City during the Siege: and promis'd him a much greater in caſe it was rais'd. It was therefore this old Officer who, properly ſpeaking, commanded in the Town, where nothing was done without his Order.

The Governor of *Chiras's* good Opinion of his Lieutenant, made him commit a Fault which was prejudicial to the Preſervation of the Place. For thinking himſelf ſafe in a Man whom he look'd upon as perfect in the Trade, he took no Care about any thing elſe. Inſtead of taking Advantage of the good Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants, who by frequent Sallies on the Beſiegers, had ſo fatigu'd them, that they deſpair'd of being able to continue the Siege, he would not permit any more Sallies, and ſtifled, very *mal a propos*, the Ardor of a People diſpos'd to do well, by keeping them ſhut up in the City. But Proviſions beginning to fail, the Gariſon was ſoon diminiſhed by the Flight of thoſe who found Means to make their Eſcape by By-ways. They could do it the more eaſily, becauſe the *Aghvans* were glad to ſee the Town growing empty, and lent them a helping Hand, by opening or ſelling a Paſſage to all that would leave it. The City not being able to hold out long for want of Victuals, *Hagi-Bakir* made the laſt Effort to ſupply it. He ſally'd at the Head of 6000 Men; but when he would have re-enter'd the Town, his Retreat was cut off by a Body of 800 *Aghvans*, who routed his little Army, and kill'd *Hagi-Bakir* himſelf with 200 Men, who ſtood by him and fought to the laſt Gaſp. As victorious as the *Aghvans* were, they would have been oblig'd to raiſe the Siege for want of Proviſions, if the Convoy that *Hagi-Bakir* ſally'd out to meet had not fallen into their Hands, by which they were enabled to continue it: For if the Scarcity was great in the City, 'twas greater in the *Aghvan* Camp, by the Precaution that was taken to ſhut up all the neighbouring Towns. But that Convoy brought Plenty into the Camp, and then the Beſiegers waited with Tranquility for the Surrender of the Beſieged to their Mercy; which the Citizens

zens of *Chiras* were ſoon compell'd to do; after having loſt about 20000 Men, who dy'd of Famine. The Governor finding he could hold out no longer, ſent his Brother to the *Aghvan* Camp to treat; but he found then the Truth of that great and old Maxim of War, That there is no Time more dangerous, nor neceſſary to keep a Guard, than that of treating; for the *Aghvans* detaining the Officer that was ſent to them, gave the Aſſault when 'twas leaſt look'd for, and found ſo little Reſiſtance from the Beſieged, who expecting a Capitulation had neglected their Poſts, that they carry'd the Place, and put all to the Sword whom they could lay hands on. All the reſt would have had the ſame Fate, if the Officers had not put a ſtop to the Fury of the Soldiers, and ſav'd the reſt of the Inhabitants from Slaughter, that there might be ſome left whom they might command.

But tho' the Men's Lives were ſav'd, their Goods were abandon'd to Pillage; and the *Aghvans* did on this Occaſion a Piece of Juſtice much to their Honour: for while they were pillaging the Houſes, finding in a private Man's Houſe, more Corn than would have ſerv'd the Garriſon three Months, they were ſo ſhock'd at the Hardheartedneſs of that rich covetous Wretch who had ſacrific'd his Country, and the Lives of above 20000 Men to his Avarice; that tying him up to a Stake in ſight and in the middle of his Granary, they left him there to be ſtarv'd to Death.

Such was the End of the Siege of *Chiras*, which laſted ten Months. The *Aghvans* loſt 2000 Men, without reckoning the *Dergeſins*. As many of the City Gariſon periſh'd. The Loſs on both Sides, was at the firſt Irruption of the *Aghvans*; and at the Sallies which were permitted in the Beginning of the Siege: but after the Governor forbad them, there was hardly any body kill'd; the *Aghvans* having given no Aſſault except that by which they forc'd the City without much Reſiſtance.

After they had ſupplied *Chiras* with a ſufficient Garriſon, they ſent a Detatchment of 400 Men towards the *Perſian* Gulph, who penetrated as far as *Bender-Abaſſi*. At the News of this Irruption, the few *Perſians* who were ſcatter'd up and down in the Farms and Houſes about the Country, retir'd with their Effects to the Iſle of *Ormus*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies Factors kept cloſe in their Houſes, where the *Aghvans* durſt not attack them. They got off for ſome Proviſions, with which they furniſh'd the Soldiers, without admitting them into their Houſes. Thus after an Excurſion of two Months, and without reaping any Benefit except terrifying the *Perſians*, the *Aghvans* return'd leſs in Number than they came. For the Air of *Bender-Abaſſi* being very unhealthy, and even mortal for Strangers the greateſt Part of the Year, the Malignity of the Climate carry'd off moſt of the 400 Men,

Men, of whom not above 40 joyned the Army.

The Reader no doubt is in Pain to know what is become of Prince *Thamas* all this while; and here it is proper to ſpeak of him, ſince 'twas during the Siege of *Chiras*, that he began to put himſelf in motion againſt the *Aghvans*. He left *Casbin* at the Approach of *Aman-Ulla* who poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Place, at the head of 8000 Men; and from *Casbin* retir'd to *Tauris*. He was ſcarce arriv'd there, but forgetting the Situation he was in, which render'd the Way of Inſinuation and Intreaty more proper than that of Authority and Command, he ſent to ſignify to *Vachtanga*, Prince of *Georgia*, with as much Haughtineſs as the moſt powerful and abſolute King of *Perſia* could have done, that he ſhould come to *Tauris* to do him Homage and receive Orders.

There was no likelihood that *Vachtanga*, who did not hearken to the Supplications of the Father, would be in a Humour to ſubmit to the imperious Command of the Son. And indeed he received it with a Diſdain and Contempt, which Prince *Thamas*, weak and impotent as he was, did not think fit to put up. So that, inſtead of thinking to drive the Rebels out of the Capital, and ſeveral other Cities of the Kingdom which they had ſeiz'd, he went very unſeaſonably to reduce a Vaſſal, who remain'd at home in Quiet, and whom it had been eaſy to have brought to Reaſon, if he had rid himſelf of the *Aghvans*. Both Sides waſted themſelves in a Civil War, the Conſequence of which was only the weakening of both. The *Leſgians*, Neighbours and old Enemies of the *Georgians*, preſently made their Advantage of the Weakneſs to which *Georgia* was reduced by this War. The *Turks* broke into the Province afterwards, and made themſelves Maſters of it without much Oppoſition, and are its Maſters to this Day.

Prince *Thamas* did not behave better with reſpect to the *Armenians*, than he had done towards the Prince of *Georgia*. For inſtead of gaining by good Uſage a Nation from whom he might have drawn great Succours, he began with over-burthening them with Taxes and exceſſive Contributions, which he levy'd without any Mercy, and with all manner of Rigor. Not content with ruining them, he would alſo force them to take Arms for him, and thought to reduce them to it by Terrors, in pillaging and ſacking ſome of their principal Towns. The *Armenians* ſeeing themſelves driven to the laſt Extremity, and having no Hopes of being better treated by a Prince who had no manner of Regard to them, at laſt took Arms, and canton'd to the Number of 40000 in the Mountains of *Kapan* near *Tauris*. Prince *Thamas* would needs force them with the few Troops he had, but was ſo well beaten every time he attack'd them, that after ſeveral uſeleſs Attempts, wherein his Men were cut to pieces, he grew diſcreet at his own Expence, and found it neceſſary to ſend to them for an Accommodation. Both Sides treated with Sincerity; and the Prince was ſenſible of the great Aſſiſtance he might have had from them againſt the Uſurper and the Rebels, by the important Services they did againſt the *Turks*, if inſtead of provoking them by the moſt crying Extortion and Indignities, as he did at firſt, he had carry'd himſelf moderately towards them, and gain'd their Affection, which they were well inclin'd of themſelves to give him Proofs of. In the mean time the Siege of *Chiras* continuing ſtill, made him turn his Eyes that way; and he at laſt ſeem'd to call to mind that the moſt dangerous Enemies he had, and thoſe whoſe Progreſs ought moſt to alarm him, were the *Aghvans*. He had then with him 8000 choſen Troops train'd up in Wars. They were few in Number, but as many as were neceſſary to deal with the *Aghvans*, whoſe ſeparate Body before *Chiras* was not numerous; and had thoſe 8000 Men been well led, they might have promis'd themſelves Succeſs upon Occaſions. But Prince *Thamas* himſelf ruin'd all his Hopes in that reſpect by the ill Choice of a General, whom he placed at the Head of this little Army. He was a Man of no Merit, eſpecially as to War, and ought to have been ſuſpected by him with regard to the *Aghvans*, he being of the ſame Sect in Religion with them. His Name was *Fredon-Kan*; and as ſoon as he had got the Command of the Army, inſtead of marching againſt the *Aghvans*, he fell on the *Armenians* of *Perie*. He charged them with having courted Protection of the *Aghvans*; and under that Pretence he ſack'd their Towns, and according to the barbarous Cuſtom in *Perſia*, he ſent Prince *Thamas* ſome hundreds of Heads of the Priſoners he had taken, as if they had been Heads of *Aghvans* kill'd in Fight. He did this with ſo little Precaution, that 'twas ſeen by the Tonſure of the Pates, that ſome of the Perſons ſlaughter'd were *Armenian* Prieſts. He retir'd after this notable Exploit to the City of *Kiulpekient*, where he ſettled his Camp; but as ſoon as he heard of the Approach of the *Aghvans*, he ran away, and his Army follow'd his Example.

The City of *Kiulpekient* had till then ſtood out againſt the *Aghvans*, and repuls'd them as often as ſhe had been attack'd; but ſhe loſt Courage now, ſeeing herſelf abandon'd by the very Army that was ſent to her Aſſiſtance: and a barb'd Elephant approaching the Walls to make a Breach, ſo terrify'd them, that every one fled towards a Fort joining to the City. But the *Aghvans* came too cloſe on the Heels of them, cut off their Retreat, and ſlew the greateſt Part of them. Th[illegible] few who got into the Fort were ſo frighted at the enormous Size of the barb'd Elephant that appear'd in Sight from the Walls, that they preſently ſurrender'd, and ſubmitted to the Conqueror; ſo that in leſs than an Hour, the Uſurper *Maghmud*, who was in Perſon in this Expedition, routed an Army, forc'd a rich City, and reduc'd a Fort that was in a good State of Defence.

The Loſs of *Kiulpekient* drew after it that of *Cachan*, one of the moſt famous Cities of *Perſia*. The Inhabitants of this City had already ſuffer'd much by Famine; and the Waſte the *Aghvans* had committed in all the neighbouring Towns and Villages, depriv'd them of all Means of Subſiſtence by Supplies from thence: ſo they judg'd rightly, that if they were attack'd, their beſt way would be to ſurrender.

But when they underſtood what had paſs'd at *Kiulpekient*, they thought it moſt adviſeable to be beforehand with the Conqueror, and ſent to invite *Maghmud* to come and take Poſſeſſion of their City, where he was received with great Pomp. The Uſurper ſtaid there ſome Days; and that the good Treat~~ment this~~ City met with for ſubmitting to him of herſelf might tempt other Cities to do the like, he behav'd towards the Citizens of *Cachan* with great Generoſity and Humanity. He then returned to *Iſpahan* full of Glory, and highly pleas'd with his new Conqueſts,

queſts, which were celebrated with Fire-works, and all publick Demonſtrations of Joy uſual on the like Occaſions.

The Uſurper *Maghmud* enjoy'd in Tranquility all the Satisfaction which he could take in his late Proſperity, when it was troubled by a bold Stroke of *Aman-Ulla*, one of the Chiefs of the Nation, who pretended to be upon a Par with him; and complaining that he had not kept the Agreement they had made, offer'd to retire with his Troops.

To have a right Notion of this Matter, we muſt ſuppoſe that when the *Aghvans* undertook this Expedition in the Year 1722, they thought of nothing leſs than of dethroning the King of *Perſia* their old Maſter. Their Views reach'd no farther than the making themſelves Maſters of *Kirman*, to ſecure their Retreat when they made Incurſions into the Provinces on the Borders, and ſometimes in the Heart of the Kingdom.

As *Aman-Ulla* was independent of *Myrr-Maghmud*, and had a Body of Troops of his own, he engaged with *Maghmud* on an equal Foot, and not as an Inferior or Subaltern; and the Agreement was, that they ſhould divide in halves what they ſhould get by their Enterprize, be it what it would.

Things having ſince taken a more advantageous Turn than they expected, as ſoon as *Myrr-Maghmud* ſaw himſelf ſeated on the *Perſian* Throne, that he might avoid a

Competition with *Aman-Ulla*, he gave him 8000 Men, good Troops, to ſeize *Casbin*, and ſettle himſelf there as he was ſettled at *Iſpahan*. *Aman-Ulla* enter'd it without Reſiſtance: But as he was accountable to no body for his Actions, and did not think the Terms of their Treaty ſufficiently made good, till he had drawn as much out of *Casbin*, as his Aſſociate had done out of *Iſpahan*, he ſo provok'd the Citizens of *Casbin*, by his Extortions and Violences, that they roſe, as has been ſaid in its Place, and drove him out of their Town, very much wounded, and ſtripp'd of all he had, after having kill'd 4000 of his Men, and reduc'd the reſt of his little Army to a very ſorry Condition.

Aman-Ulla, diſappointed in his Hopes of enriching himſelf by the Plunder of *Casbin*, was no ſooner cur'd of his Wounds and return'd to *Iſpahan*, than he trump'd up the Treaty betwen him and *Maghmud*. He talk'd big of his Rights, and pretended to the Half of whatever had been taken, even the Treaſures of *Schah-Huſſein*, and to be joynt King with *Maghmud*, purſuant to their Agreement.

His Pretenſions were juſt according to the Letter of that Treaty; and *Maghmud* could take no Advantage of his having marry'd one of *Schah-Huſſein*'s Daughters, ſince *Aman-Ulla* had eſpouſed another of them. So that they were on the ſame Terms with reſpect to their Right by Marriage. He preſs'd him daily more and more; and perceiving *Maghmud* evaded his Inſtances, without doing him Juſtice in dividing the Kingdom and *Schah-Huſſein*'s Treaſures, he fell out with him, and fully convinc'd him, that every thing was to be expected from his Reſentment.

The Princeſs he had married, finding him in this Diſpoſition, did not miſs that Opportunity to do her Brother Prince *Thamas* Service; and ſet him ſo againſt *Maghmud* by aggravating his Treachery, and repreſenting him as a cruel Tyrant, capable of ſacrificing every thing to his Ambition and Intereſt, that ſhe determined him to joyn Prince *Thamas* and act againſt the Uſurper, whoſe Spoils were to be divided between them.

Theſe Remonſtrances had all the Effect the Princeſs promis'd to herſelf. *Aman-Ulla* march'd from *Iſpahan* at the Head of his Troops about the End of *December* 1723: and taking the Crown with him, directed his March to *Candahar*. But inſtead of continuing that Rout, he turn'd off towards the Provinces where Prince *Thamas* was Maſter, without declaring his Intentions.

The News of this, ſoon reach'd *Iſpahan*; and *Maghmud* was ſo frighten'd at it, that he mounted his Horſe immediately, and with the few People that were ready to accompany him, he rode after *Aman-Ulla*; leaving

Orders for his Troops to follow him with all poſſible Diligence.

He overtook *Aman-Ulla* at four Days end; and the Remembrance of old Friendſhip ſtifling all Reproaches which they might have made each other, they embrac'd with great Affection: and *Aman-Ulla* was won by *Maghmud's* Careſſes and Promiſes. But the Uſurper conceiving the great Danger he ſhould have been in by his Friend's Deſertion, took Care to provide againſt it for the future, by making himſelf ſure of him in a way which ſhould not offend him. He caus'd him to mount his own Horſe to do him honour, equip'd with all the Pomp which is ſuitable to Royal Majeſty: And after having embrac'd again, and renewed their former Oaths on the Points of their naked Swords, he ſent him back to *Iſpahan* with a Body of Cavalry, which under the Name of an Eſcort was his Guard. He alſo directed the Governor of the Capital to have a watchful Eye over him till his Return, but not to ſeem to have any Intention to ſet a Guard upon him. In all other reſpects he was to do him all ſort of Honours, and ſee that he wanted for nothing to his entire Satisfaction. But notwithſtanding ſo much Reſpect and Ceremony, *Aman-Ulla* perceiv'd that indeed he was no better than a Priſoner; and reſented it ſo highly, that when *Maghmud* came back from his laſt Expedition, he could not be prevail'd upon to wait on him. He thought he was more at Liberty than when the Uſurper was preſent. But *Maghmud* ſoon convinced him of the contrary. For *Aman-Ulla* going from *Iſpahan* with his uſual Train, to viſit his Brother's Tomb, *Maghmud* ſent an Officer after him with Orders to thruſt his Spear into *Aman-Ulla*'s Horſe's Belly; which was done accordingly. 'Tis true he had another given him to carry him back to *Iſpahan*, but he was ſo exaſperated at this Affront, that when he came back, he kill'd with his own Hand, the the fineſt Horſes in his Stables; and perhaps had done more Miſchief, if *Maghmud* had not run to appeaſe him.

They were again reconcil'd at this Interview; and the Uſurper gave him his full Liberty, tho' to his own Prejudice; for *Aman-Ulla* made no Uſe of it, but to deſtroy him; being one of the Heads, and the moſt zealous one of the Conſpiracy which was form'd againſt *Maghmud*, who was their Victim not long after.

When he ſent *Aman-Ulla* to *Iſpahan*, at the time he prevented his going to Prince *Thamas*, as has been related, he made *Aman-Ulla*'s Troops take an Oath of Fidelity to him, and joyn'd them to his own. He then march'd towards that Part of *Arabia* call'd *Kiok-Kilan*, which depends on *Perſia*, to bring it under Subjection to him. But he ſuffer'd ſo much from the bad Air of the Climate, and the Incurſions of the *Arabians*, that he loſt all his Baggage, and almoſt all his Troops; not a ſixth Part of them returning with him. Nay, there would not have been a Man ſav'd, had it not been for the Aſſiſtance given him by *Kaſin-Kan*, a *Perſian* Lord, who poſſeſs'd a Principality in that Neighbourhood, and had been always faithful to *Maghmud* ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown of *Perſia*.

The Uſurper came to *Iſpahan* with the ſad Remains of his ſhatter'd Army, himſelf very much vex'd and dejected. He would not be receiv'd in a ſolemn Manner, as he had been laſt Year. He only diſtributed 50000 *Tomans*, about 300000 Pounds among his Troops, as ſome Amends for the Loſs of their Baggage, and to help them to buy more. But they were ſo diminiſh'd, that they could do him no great Service, ſo he employ'd them in reducing the Towns and Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Iſpahan*.

During theſe Tranſactions, Prince *Thamas* who did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to drive out the *Aghvans*, bounded his Ambition with the Preſervation of *Tauris*, and what was left of the *Perſian* Monarchy unconquer'd by the *Barbarians*. But on a ſudden he found he had an Enemy on his Hands more formidable than the *Aghvans*. The *Turks*, not contented with ſeizing *Georgia*, enter'd *Perſia*, and advancing to *Tauris* laid Siege to it.

Happily for Prince *Thamas*, he had juſt put an End to the domeſtick Diſſentions among his Party; and by his mild Behaviour gain'd over thoſe whom his unſeaſonable Pride had diſguſted; eſpecially the *Armenians* of the Mountains of *Capan*, who by joyning him, put him in a Condition, not only to make head againſt the *Turks*, but alſo to attack them in their Intrenchments: which he did, and with ſo much Vigour, that he obtain'd one of the moſt glorious and compleat Victories, that had been known ſince the Begining of the *Perſian* Troubles; for there were 20000 *Turks* ſlain in the Battel, and almoſt as many taken Priſoners. The *European* Gazettes attribute this Victory to *Myrr-Maghmud*, which is the more falſe, for that the *Aghvans* never came to Blows with the *Turks*, whom they look on as their Brethern, being of the ſame *Mahometan* Sect, and always living with them in a good Underſtanding.

At the ſame time that the *Turks* beſieg'd *Tauris*, another Army of theirs, under the Command of *Achmet* Baſha of *Babylon*, laid Siege to *Amadan*, a City famous for the Tombs of *Mordecai* and *Eſther*, as is pretended in *Perſia*. As ſoon as Prince *Thamas* had deliver'd *Tauris* by the Defeat of the *Turks*, he ſent Part of his Army under the

Conduct of *Flagella-Kan*, againſt the Baſha of *Babylon*, to oblige him to raiſe the Siege of *Amadan*. But whether that General had not ſo much Capacity as was neceſſary for ſuch an Enterprize, or that Fortune repented of her favouring the *Perſians*, they were routed by the Baſha, who found himſelf at liberty to continue the Siege without Interruption.

However, the Beſieg'd, notwithſtanding the Defeat of the Forces ſent to their Relief, defended themſelves ſtill with great Reſolution; and the *Turks* had lain before the City two Months, without making much Progreſs in the Siege, when a *German* Renegado, a good Engineer, gave them Entrance into the Town by a Mine. There would have been nothing but Fire and Sword, if the Baſha had not in Compaſſion to the Inhabitants, caus'd one of the Gates to be open'd, for all that cou'd to make their Eſcape that Way; which moſt on that Side of the City did. All the reſt, without Diſtinction of Age or Sex were put to the Sword.

Prince *Thamas* was greatly afflicted at this Loſs, as well as at the Defeat of his Troops. He was angry with *Flagella-Kan*, and had Reaſon to be ſo. But inſtead of a moderate Reprimand, which that Officer deſerv'd, he inſulted him in ſuch a Manner, as only ſerv'd to ſowre him yet more. He ſent him a *Calaat* or Veſt of Gold Brocard, being of that ſort worn by Women; to ſhew him he was fitter to handle a Diſtaff than a Sword: which Affront *Flagella* ſo highly reſented, that he immediately went over to the Uſurper *Maghmud*, and carried 400 Men with him.

About this time happened the Adventure of the *Georgian* Woman, famous for her Courage, and the Novelty of the Reſolution ſhe took to revenge the Death of her Husband. Being informed that he was ſlain by the *Aghvans* at the Battel of *Giulnabat*, ſhe departed from the furthermoſt Part of *Georgia* diſguiſed like a Man, and travelled above 400 Leagues to *Iſpahan*, where mingling among the *Aghvans*, 'tis reckon'd ſhe kill'd above 50 of them at ſeveral times, as Sacrifices to the Manes of her Husband. She was at laſt taken in one of thoſe Executions, and brought before *Maghmud* full of the Wounds ſhe had received, and thoſe ſhe had given herſelf to eſcape the Cruelty of the *Aghvans*. Her Sex being known, the Barbarian could not but admire the Greatneſs of her Soul. He order'd Care to be taken of her, and that ſhe ſhould be treated with all the Reſpect due to her Sex and Courage.

He was very impatient for the new Levies from *Candahar*, who arriv'd towards the End of the Year 1724. He liſted a good Number of *Dergeſins* at *Iſpahan* out of thoſe of that Nation who had lately ſettled there, and with ſome *Turkiſh* Troops taken into his Pay, he form'd as fine an Army as that with which he at firſt ſate down before the Capital.

Finding he ſhould frequently be neceſſitated to have Recruits from *Candahar*, and that therefore nothing would be of more Importance, than to ſecure the Communication between that City and *Iſpahan*; he thought he could not better employ his Troops than in the Execution of this Project.

About ten Days Journey from *Iſpahan*, in the Rout to *Candahar*, there is a pretty ſtrong City, called *Jeſt*, or *Teſd*, which was a great Obſtacle to that Communication, and very lately had given him a Proof of it by the Loſs of 2000 Recruits coming from *Candahar*. The Men of *Jeſt* attack'd them in their Paſſage, and gain'd ſuch a compleat Victory, that hardly one of them was left alive to carry the News to *Iſpahan*.

This was not the firſt Vexation this City had given him; he ſtill remember'd that two Years before, when he was marching towards *Iſpahan*, he was repuls'd from this City, which he thought to carry by Aſſault, with the Loſs of abundance of Men. Tho' this Check griev'd him much, yet he did not think fit to defer his March to the Capital by beſieging it. But as if it had been order'd, that thoſe very Events which ſeem'd moſt favourable to *Schah Huſſein* ſhould turn to his Ruin, it was found that the Advantage *Jeſt* had obtain'd over *Myrr-Maghmud* contributed to the taking of *Iſpahan*. For the Court of *Perſia* had conceived ſuch a Contempt of this Rebel and his Troops, that they ſcorn'd to take any of thoſe diſtant Precautions, which are in no caſe to be neglected on the Approach of an Enemy's Army. 'Twas thought Weakneſs to provide before-hand in the Capital of the Kingdom againſt an Enemy, who had juſt miſcarried before a little City in the Province; and it being a much ſhorter way, under an indolent King who hated Buſineſs, to defy Danger, than to uſe any Endeavours to ward it off; the Court was willing to believe they had nothing to fear; and that this imaginary Security could not be better grounded in the Minds of the People, than by abſtaining from taking neceſſary Meaſures to render it real and ſolid.

By this means *Maghmud*'s Diſgrace before *Jeſt* was ſo far from being prejudicial to him with regard to his Deſign againſt *Iſpahan*, that on the contrary it facilitated the Conqueſt of that Capital. But his Reſentment againſt it reviving by the Loſs of the 2000 Men that had been lately defeated in the ſame Place, and the Neceſſity of ſecuring the Communication between *Iſpahan* and *Candahar*, determin'd him to turn all his Forces againſt the City of *Jeſt*, and to make himſelf Maſter

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of it. He went upon this Enterprize with the more Confidence, for that he was at the Head of an Army capable of undertaking every thing with Succeſs, and had a good Train of Artillery; beſides which, he held Correſpondence with ſome in the Town, the *Gaures*, who inhabited a Quarter of it. In the mean time, the Citizens of *Jeſt* having Information that he was coming againſt them, prepared to defend themſelves; and to deprive him of all Means of ſubſiſting his Army, they laid all their Neighbourhood waſte, ruining all the little defenceleſs Towns and Villages thereabouts. They furniſhed themſelves with Proviſions in abundance, and had a ſtrong Gariſon in the Place. Theſe Preparations, which were more than ſufficient againſt open Force, could not ſecure them againſt Surprize and Treaſon; but very luckily they diſcover'd the Intelligence between the *Gaurs* and *Maghmud*, a little while before the Arrival of the Uſurper's Army, and put all thoſe Traitors to the Sword without ſparing one of them, and then prepar'd to defend themſelves with the more Security, for that they had no Enemies to fear but thoſe without, whoſe Forces did not frighten them.

Maghmud came before the Place at the End of *December* 1724. and the Impoſſibility he ſaw there was of maintaining his Troops in a Country quite ruin'd, obliging him to haſten his Projects, he gave Order for a general Aſſault. The *Aghvans* attack'd it on all Sides; and not knowing that the Correſpondence they had with the *Gaures* within the City was diſcover'd, they went on with all the Aſſurance of Men who reckon'd their Succeſs was infallible; but they found every where a Reſiſtance unexpected by them. They were in all Places repuls'd, and forc'd to give over the Aſſault. They now ſaw that the Town would not be carry'd ſo eaſily as they had imagin'd. The Men of *Jeſt* did not ſtop here; but taking Advantage of the Diſorder they perceiv'd the Beſiegers to be in, they ſally'd upon them, and cut a great Number to pieces, put the reſt to Flight, and took all the Baggage of the Army, which they brought into the Town in Triumph.

The Uſurper *Maghmud*, who thought to recover in this Expedition the Reputation he loſt in the laſt, was ſo diſmay'd at theſe two ſucceſſive Diſgraces, and eſpecially the latter, which he leaſt look'd for, that he deem'd it to be an Effect of the Wrath of Heaven; and perſuading himſelf that he could ſucceed in nothing till he had appeas'd it, he reſolv'd, in order to it, to make a Retreat according to the ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of the *Indians*, brought into *Candahar* by its Neighbourhood to *India*, and much prevailing there. The Manner of this kind of Retreat is thus:

The People ſhut themſelves up in a ſubterranean Grotto, where no Light enters. The

Young and the Old ſuffer extremely; for all the Nouriſhment they have is a very little Bread and Water; not enough to keep them from ſtarving: They ſcarce indulge themſelves in a Moment's Sleep, which coming from Heavineſs and Faintneſs is rather a Fatigue than a real Repoſe. The reſt of the Time is taken up in Agitations of the Body, accompanied with loud Cries and deep Groans. Theſe Agitations weaken them by Degrees, cauſe Convulſions and rambling Thoughts, which they take for Extacies; and while they are in them, they fancy they ſee Spectres, and Apparitions; which tho' the Effect of a troubled Brain only, is a new Torment to them.

This ſort of Retreat laſts forty Days; and *Maghmud* ſtaid ſo long in his ſubterranean Vault. He then came forth, pale, meager, and reduc'd almoſt to a Spectre himſelf. The Effect of this ridiculous Piece of Superſtition, was the turning his Head, and putting him out of his Senſes, which he never recover'd again: and this was what loſt him his Crown firſt, and then his Life.

From that Moment he became reſtleſs, wild and ſuſpicious; taking Umbrage of his beſt Friends, and believing that whoever came near him aim'd at his Life and his Throne. He was in the firſt Fit of this Hypocondriack Humour, when the Eſcape of *Mirza-Sefi*, *Schah-Huſſein*'s eldeſt Son, who was formerly declar'd his Succeſſor, threw *him into a Traſport of* Rage, which caus'd *the horrible Tragedy* we are about to relate.

Mirza-Seſi having found Means to get out *of the Harem,* fled to the Province of *Bachtyaci,* where 'tis thought he ſtill is, and is the ſame whom the *European* Gazettes, upon ill Information, paſs for a ſuppoſititious Prince. The Uſurper was ſo terrified at this News, that he reſolv'd to murder all the Princes of the Blood, to prevent their making him uneaſy for the future. On the 7th of *February,* 1725, in the Afternoon, he order'd all thoſe Princes to be brought into a Court of the Palace, among whom were three of the paternal Uncles of *Schah-Huſſein,* old and decrepid. (He commanded their Hands to be ty'd behind them with their Girdles, and, aſſiſted by two of his Confederates who ſeconded him in this cruel Butchery, he maſſacred them with his Sabre.) There were only two left, and thoſe very young, who ran into the Arms of *Schah-Huſſein.* This Prince hearing a Noiſe, and the Cries of dying Perſons, came to the Place where the Slaughter was committed. At the ſight of ſo many Princes weltering in their Gore, he could not forbear making the Tyrant bitter Reproaches. He ſtood between *Maghmud* and the two young Princes, his Children, whom the Uſurper would have butcher'd even in his Arms; and in endeavouring to defend them, receiv'd a Wound in his Hand. The Tyrant, as barbarous as he was, could not help being touch'd at the ſight of the Blood of the King; and ſuffer'd him to ſave the two little Princes, to comfort him for the Loſs of the reſt.

'Tis not certainly known how many of them were murder'd. Some ſay one hundred and five; others a hundred and eighty; and others more than that. We ſhould not be ſurpris'd to hear of ſo many Princes of the Blood in the *Eaſtern* Courts. We might rather wonder there were no more; ſince in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, thirty Cradles have been carry'd into the *Haram* in a Months time only. So that the Number would be infinite, if the greateſt Part of them did not dye in their Infancy.

After this bloody Execution, *Maghmud* acted always like a Fury, and never ſhew'd the leaſt Sign of ſober Senſe. The *Aghvan* Phyſicians who were with him, try'd all the Secrets of their Art, to reſtore him to his Senſes; but their Remedies did not operate. They had Recourſe to the *Armenian* Clergy, to rehearſe that Part of the Goſpel over the Head of the Uſurper, which they term the *Red Goſpel:* A Cuſtom in vogue among the *Perſians*, who pretend that ſeveral Cures have been done by it, on Perſons diſturb'd in their Minds, with the ſame Symptoms of Madneſs as *Maghmud* had. The *Armenian* Clergy came to the Palace in ſolemn

Proceſſion, wearing their ſacerdotal Habits, and bearing lighted Wax Candles in their Hands. They were honourably receiv'd there by the Courtiers rang'd on each Side, whoſe Looks modeſt and religious, and their great Silence and Reſpect ſhew'd their Veneration for theſe *Chriſtian* Prieſts. After the Ceremony was over, they were reconducted to *Zulfa* in the ſame Order, by a Crowd of Court-Lords. The Uſurper hapning to have a lucid Interval a little after the Ceremony, ſent the *Armenians* two thouſand Tomans, or 4000 Crowns in Specie, and as much in Effects which he had taken from them, promiſing with an Oath to reſtore the reſt, if God was ſo gracious to him, as to reſtore his Health. He alſo return'd a thouſand Tomans in the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Promiſe, to the *Dutch* Factors, from whom he had taken 40000 Tomans, or 2400000 Livres; and 20000 Tomans, or 1200000 Livres to the *Engliſh* Merchants: which to both Companies, amounts to 3600000 Livres. But theſe Reſtitutions did neither the one nor the other much Good. *Maghmud's* Succeſſor made them void, as the Effects of a diſorder'd Brain; and order'd thoſe Sums to be brought back to his Treaſury. In a Letter inſerted in the *Mercurey, January* 1727, it is ſaid he had forc'd the *Dutch* to pay him 800000 Tomans, which would make 48 Millions of Livres;

and the *Engliſh* 200000 Tomans, or 12 Millions; all which is falſe and exorbitant. The Sum I have ſpecified, as in my Memoirs, is large enough in conſcience.

Maghmud's lucid Interval laſted not long: and the Palſy, or as others pretend, the Leproſy, joyning to the Delirium, one half of his Body rotted; and his Bowels became ſo diſorder'd, that he voided his Excrements at his Mouth; and in the horrid Torments he endur'd, he turn'd his Fury againſt himſelf, and tore his Hands with Teeth.

While he was in this ſad Condition, Prince *Thamas* had an Advantage over one of the *Aghvan* Generals, which allarm'd that Nation. This Prince with great Difficulty, got 15000 Men together; and finding he was not ſtrong enough to make head againſt the *Turks*, who broke into *Perſia* three ſeveral Ways, he reſolv'd to carry on the War againſt the *Aghvans*: and falling upon one of their Generals call'd *Seidal*, as he was marching to the City of *Casbin* with 7000 Men, he attack'd and defeated him.

The *Aghvans* were allarm'd at this News, and finding there was no Hope of any thing from *Maghmud*, who was not fit for Buſineſs, they thought of chuſing him a Succeſſor. The Right of this Succeſſion, fell naturally to the Uſurper's elder Brother; but he was actually at *Candahar*; and there being

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450 Leagues Diſtance from that City to *Iſpahan*, along a Country not yet ſubdu'd, he could not venture thence without a little Army, whoſe March would take up three or four Months time. In the mean while, the Affair was preſſing, and their Condition was like to grow worſe every Day, till ſome Order was taken about it. This Reaſon induc'd the *Aghvans* to proceed immediately to a Choice of a Succeſſor to *Maghmud*: which Choice fell upon *Aſzraff* his Couſin German; who was then in Confinement as *Iſpahan* on the following Occaſion.

Aſzraff was the Son of that Brother of *Myrr-Weis* who ſucceeded that *famous* Rebel in the Command of the Nation; and whoſe Head his Nephew *Maghmud* had cut off, in order to put himſelf in his Place, as is elſewhere related. Tho' *Maghmud*'s Power was increas'd by that Murder, and he had ſince acquir'd ſo much Credit with the *Aghvans*, that *Aſraff* was oblig'd to diſſemble his Reſenment for his Father's Death; yet he kept it ſtill in his Mind: and whether for that Reaſon, or out of his Moderation, which was his particular Character, and which always preſerv'd him in the Eſteem of the *Aghvans*, his Countrymen, even while he was in Priſon, he always oppos'd, as much as was poſſible, his Couſin *Maghmud*'s ambitious Projects; and was always of Opinion, that *Schah Huſſein*'s Propoſals of Peace ought to have been accepted.

Such a Diſpoſition of Mind could not be grateful to *Maghmud*, and began to make him ſuſpicious of *Aſzraff*. But he became more ſo, and with more Reaſon, during the Siege of *Iſpahan*, on account of two Facts he was inform'd of; the one was, that out of Compaſſion to the Want *Schah Huſſein* was reduced to in his own Palace, where he had not Food, he caus'd 7000 Batmens of Corn to be convey'd to him, about 84000 Pound Weight; each Batmen being 12 Pounds Averdupoix. The ſecond Fact was ſtill more conſiderable, and more odious, which was his treating with the Court of *Perſia* to come over to them with his Troops, on Payment of a certain Sum which he demanded, to be diſtributed among them. Had the Money been paid, *Aſzraff* had certainly join'd the *Perſian* Army. But the Court of *Perſia*, out of a Piece of ill-tim'd Husbandry, put off the Affair with ſo many Delays, in Expectation of *Ali-Merdan-Kan*'s coming with Proviſions, that *Aſzraff* grew weary, and broke off the Treaty; which he would never after renew, tho' the Court much deſir'd it. The Intrigues between them were not ſo well conceal'd, but that *Maghmud* had ſome Intimations of them; and to prevent their being accompliſh'd, drew off *Aſzraff* from the Poſt where he commanded, and where he had a Conveniency to carry on his Correſpondence with the Court of *Perſia*;

and being obliged to diſſemble till he was Maſter of *Iſpahan*, he did not diſcover any Diſcontent againſt his Couſin; but when he took him from his Poſt near the Capital, he pretended 'twas to give him a more honourable and more important Commiſſion, by ordering him to cover the Siege: Which he did as long as it laſted. But as ſoon as *Maghmud* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Iſpahan*, he cauſ'd him to be arreſted and kept in Priſon all his Reign; that is, two Years and ſix Months.

He was a Priſoner, when by an unhop'd-for Revolution he was taken thence and placed upon the Throne. Tho' the Neceſſity the *Aghvans* were in to remedy the preſent Diſorders oblig'd them to ſo ſudden a Choice of a Chief, and made them caſt their Eyes upon *Aſzraff*, as the neareſt Relation of *Maghmud*; yet their high Eſteem of his Merit and Capacity determin'd them to chuſe him, as much as his Affinity to the Uſurper. They reſpected him not only as a Man of Wiſdom, Moderation and Equity, but as the greateſt Captain of their Nation, ſince the Death of *Naſyr-Ulla*. Nay, they gave him the Preference of the latter in the Compariſon they made of them, ſaying, *Naſyr-Ulla* had been the more ſucceſsful Robber, but *Aſzraff* the more able and experienc'd General. He gave ſignal Proofs of it in the Battel of *Giulnabat*; and all the World allow'd, that the Victory the

Aghvans obtain'd was owing to his good Conduct and Valour.

The Majority of the Suffrages being in his Favour, the principal Perſons of the Nation, and the chief Officers of the Army, ran tumultuouſly to the Priſon, where they ſaluted him King the 22d of *April*, 1725. From thence he march'd to the Palace, where he met with ſome Reſiſtance from *Maghmud*'s Guards, who were *Aghvans* of the Province of *Hazaray*, of the *Perſian* Sect, and ſtood out for their Maſter. They ſuſtain'd the Aſſault with all the Courage and Vigor that could be expected from their Fidelity to *Maghmud*; but being only, as one may ſay, an handful of Men within the Palace, while all without declar'd for *Aſzraff*, they were forc'd to ſubmit after an Hour's Diſpute, and *Aſzraff* became Maſter of the Throne, upon which his Countrymen were eager to place him. But as he always had the Revenge of his Father's Death at heart, whoſe Head *Maghmud* had cut off, ſo he would not be placed on the Throne till that of *Maghmud* was brought him. He alſo order'd all *Maghmud*'s Guard, conſiſting of 300 Men of the *Aghvans* of *Hazaray*, to be put to the Sword, and all his Miniſters and particular Confidents, who were murder'd the ſame Day.

The Principal of all *Maghmud*'s Miniſters, and he whom he moſt truſted, was *Almas-Kullar Aghaſi*, General of the Artillery, who fled. But *Aſzaff* ſent after him. The Meſſenger overtook him, and brought him back to *Iſpahan,* where he was put to the Torture, to force him to declare where his Treaſures were. He endur'd the firſt Torture with great Reſolution; and to avoid another, he ſlew himſelf, after having ſlain his Wife to prevent her being expos'd, as he fear'd ſhe might have been.

The Death of this Miniſter, who was in general Eſteem, and whom every body thought worthy of a better Fortune, was Cauſe of Grief even to *Aſzraff* himſelf, who ſaw immediately that all the Odium of it would fall upon him. He was indeed a Man of an unblameable Conduct, and whom no body had complained of ever ſince the *Aghvans* were Maſters of *Iſpahan.* The *Perſians* themſelves commended him, and the *Europeans* and Chriſtians look'd on him as their Protector and Friend. No Perſon was ſo much truſted by *Maghmud* as he was: But he made no other Uſe of the Favour he was in, than to mollify him, and as much as he could to hinder his violent Actions. 'Twas very wrong to torture him to find out his conceal'd Riches. He never was at any Trouble to heap up Treaſure; and very far from extorting any thing from any one, it was a Law with him to take Preſents from no body. He ſaid often, he would be a charge to none; and that without drawing on himſelf the Curſes of the People by pillaging them, there was Treaſure enough in the King's Finances, which was entirely at his Diſpoſal, to anſwer the Expence which his Rank requir'd. For that Expence was very moderate: A little ſatisfy'd him; and he liv'd after the Fortune of the *Aghvans*, no otherwiſe than he had done before it. He was as generous as compaſſionate, of which he gave a remarkable Proof on this Occaſion. A Widow of *Iſpahan* being almoſt dead with Grief at ſeeing an *Aghvan* Officer about to carry away her only Son a Slave to *Candahar*, pretending the Mother had ſold him for fifty Sequins, *Almas-Kullar* was extremely concern'd at the poor Woman's Trouble; and tho' he could not force the Officer to give back her Son, he bargain'd with him for the Lad, giving him 150 Sequins, and the Choice of any Horſe in his Stables; for which the Boy was deliver'd him, and he reſtor'd him to his Mother. An Example of Generoſity and Humanity that one could hardly expect from a barbarous Nation, and would have done Honour to the beſt Time of antient *Rome*. *Aſzraff*, who wanted only this Man's Riches, which he thought was great, becauſe he had it in his Power to acquire Wealth, was the more troubled at his Death, for that he was ſenſible of his Merit, and intended to make uſe of him.

This Miniſter's Merit and Probity, did honour to *Maghmud's* Choice and Confidence, who was himſelf of a very different Character. And as this modern Conqueror has made a very conſiderable Figure in the *Eaſt*, one cannot but have a little Curioſity about what concerns his Perſon. I ſhall therefore give his Picture as I find it in my Memoirs. He was middle-ſiz'd, and pretty ſquat: his Face broad, his Noſe flattiſh, his Eyes blue and ſquinting a little, his Look fierce. His Phyſiogmony had ſomething rough and diſagreable in it, diſcovering a Cruelty in his Nature. His Neck was ſo monſtrouſly ſhort, that his Head ſeem'd to grow to his Shoulders. He had ſcarce any Beard; and what he had was carotty. His Eyes were generally down-caſt, and he look'd always as if he was muſing. Every Morning he exercis'd himſelf in wreſtling half an Hour with ſome of the moſt robuſt of his Officers; and ſpent the reſt of the Day in other Exerciſes proper to harden and ſtrengthen his Body. Five Sheep were brought him daily with their Feet ty'd, for him to cut them in two with his Sabre. He was very dexterous at flinging a little Javelin, call'd *Girid* in *Perſia*, and never fail'd of ſtriking the Mark he aim'd at. He was ſo nimble in mounting his Horſe, that without a Stirrop, he would lay hold of the Horſe's Mane with his left Hand, and clapping his right on his Back, would leap into the Saddle. He ſlept very little, and never made uſe of Mattreſſes in a Campaign. He went the Rounds himſelf, accompanied with ſome of his moſt truſty Friends, to viſit the Centinels in the Night; not only in the Camp, but in *Iſpahan* it ſelf. He was very ſober in his Diet and Drink, contenting himſelf with what he found: and as an Effect of his Sobriety, he was ſo exactly continent, that he never had Commerce with any Woman but his Wife, *Schah-Huſſein's* Daughter, by whom he had a Son, whoſe Eyes 'tis thought his Succeſſor has put out, if he has not taken his Life away. He was extremely ſevere in military Diſcipline: more fear'd than belov'd by his Soldiers; they valu'd him for his Intrepidity in braving the greateſt Dangers, and cry'd him up as a Man capable of the boldeſt Enterprizes, and whoſe Boldneſs was generally ſucceſsful. But they did not wiſh him well, for theſe two Reaſons: The firſt, becauſe he ſometimes took away the Booty from them: The ſecond becauſe he treated them with great Severity, even ſometimes to Decimation: They knew alſo he had conceiv'd great Indignation againſt them, after his laſt Defeat at *Jeſt*; and had dropt a Word, that he wiſh'd they were then as great Beggars as when they came to *Iſpahan*. But what they prais'd him for above all things, was his inviolable Fidelity in Friendſhip when he had once ſworn it. We have an Inſtance of it in his Conduct towards *Aman-Ulla*, even in the Moment when he ſaw he was betray'd by him: and 'tis certain, that another in his Place, would not have boggl'd at ridding himſelf of a Man of that Make, equally unfaithful and dangerous, who had firſt broken the moſt eſſential Obligations of Friendſhip. Such was the Character, and ſuch the Picture of this Conqueror of *Perſia*; who at the Age of twenty-ſix Years, (he being ſcarce more when he dy'd,) had made himſelf terrible to all the *Eaſt*. Tho' he had reign'd but two Years and a half, and dy'd very young, one may ſay he had run his whole Career in the taking of *Iſpahan*; he having done nothing himſelf that was conſiderable afterwards, but miſcarry'd ſhamefully in his two laſt Expeditions. Thus he was more qualified to make Conqueſts by the Boldneſs, or even the Temerity of his Projects, than to ſecure them by wiſe and ſuitable Meaſures. Quite contrary to this, his Succeſſor and Couſin *Aſzraff* had all the Phlegm and Capacity neceſſary to eſtabliſh Dominion in a Kingdom conquer'd to his Hands: but was too judicious, and too bounded in his Views, to undertake a Conqueſt, or risk himſelf and his Army.

Nothing demonſtrates to us the Deſign of Providence to deprive the Family of the *Sophi's* of the Crown, better than the Choice and Uſe it made of the two Uſurpers whom it plac'd on the Throne one after the other. Such a Man as *Maghmud*, determin'd to run all Risks without conſidering Conſequences, was the only proper Man to undertake a Siege whereby he had certainly periſh'd, if of an infinite Number of Faults, one ſtill greater than the other, which the *Perſians* committed,but one only had not been made. Heaven permitted him to ſucceed, contrary to all appearance; and when that Uſurper by his Fury, Rage, Tranſports, and Cruelty, was no more fit to carry on his Work, Providence took him from the World, and put in his Place, a Man who had all neceſſary Qualities and Talents to perfect what the other had begun: he was ſharp, ſubtle, intelligent in his Intereſts, and knew perfectly well what Value to ſet upon them.

He was regular in his Proceedings, and gain'd his Ends by the moſt effectual Means, without leaving any thing to Hazard if he could help it. He conceal'd all his Deſigns with an outſide of Moderation and Probity, to which the People were often Dupes; and by favour of which, the moſt tyrannical Acts of Violence, paſt for Acts of Juſtice.

His Politicks, which reſembl'd thoſe of *Tiberius*, except that they were not ſo dark and ſo cruel, rais'd him to the Throne in a like Manner, and with the ſame Diſſimulation that *Roman* Emperor affected on the ſame Occaſion. He excus'd himſelf; he blamed his Predeceſſor *Maghmud*'s Ambition; he laid the Crown at *Schah-Huſſein*'s Feet, and preſs'd him to reſume it, as he only had a Right to it. But the more he preſs'd *Schah-Huſ-*

ſein, the more that Prince look'd on his Inſtances as ſo many Snares, and would not therefore hearken to them; declaring openly, that He preferr'd the Quiet he enjoy'd, to all the Glitterings of a Diadem: that he look'd on the Event which oblig'd him to abdicate his Throne, as a Decree of Providence: that from the very Moment of his Abdication, he never had the leaſt Temptation to recover it, and ſhould think he acted contrary to the Orders of Heaven, if he did but ſo much as liſten to the Propoſal. However, he complain'd very movingly of *Maghmud*'s Cruelty towards the Princes his Children, and all his Family, and the little Regard he had had to his Perſon and Wants; adding that he promis'd himſelf from the Humanity of *Aſzraff*, that he ſhould be better us'd, and that he would make ſuch Proviſion for him, as might enable him to paſs the reſt of his Days in Peace. He clos'd what he had to ſay, with offering him one of his Daughters, and inviting him to marry her.

Aſzraff ſeem'd affected with *Schah-Huſſein*'s Diſcourſe and Complaints, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſuaded to take the Sceptre: and his Behaviour to the abdicated King was ſuch, as made the People curſe the Memory of his Predeceſſor, and gave them a fair Idea of his future Government. For after he had expreſs'd his Senſe of *Schah-Huſſein*'s Affliction for the Murder of ſo many Princes, and his

Abhorrence of that barbarous and bloody Maſſacre, he order'd the Bones of thoſe ſlaughter'd Princes to be gather'd together, (for *Maghmud* had left them unbury'd in the Place where they were murder'd,) and put into Coffins, which were carry'd on Camels taken out of the King's Stables, to the City of *Kom*, ſeven Days Journey from *Iſpahan*, where the *Perſians* had a Gariſon, and were ſtill Maſters. He ſent with this Convoy, rich Tapiſtrys, Golden Brocards, Tiſſues and other Decorations, for the Moſque where theſe Corps were to be depoſited; with a thouſand Tomans to be diſtributed among the Santons and Poor of the Place, to pray for the Souls of thoſe Princes. When this mournful Convoy came out of the Palace Gates to proceed to *Kom*, the whole City ran to meet it, and receiv'd it with Funeral Lamentations and Cries; nor did they leave following it till it was paſt the Suburbs; having at leaſt this Comfort, that they had the Liberty to deplore their Misfortunes and thoſe of the Royal Family. This Convoy arriv'd at *Kom* without any Accident, and was receiv'd there with new Lamentations, and great Honour. There was none but the Conductor of this mournful Caravan, who was a *Georgian*, that ſuffer'd; and he was the Victim of a barbarous Cuſtom in *Perſia*: for it being the Uſage in that Country to beat thoſe that bring bad News, they pull'd out this *Georgian*'s Eyes, but receiv'd the reſt of the Officers very honourably. However, the Corps of the murder'd Princes were not buried till Orders came from Prince *Thamas*, on whom that City ſtill depended.

Thus did the new Sultan begin to reconcile himſelf with the *Perſians*, and by an Act of Humanity which coſt him little. He did it at the Expence of his Predeceſſor's Memory; to whom tho' he was oblig'd for that Barbarity, of which himſelf reap'd all the Benefit.

He did another thing in favour of *Schah-Huſſein*, that gain'd him the Hearts of the *Perſians* as much as the former: for he aſſign'd him fifty Tomans, or a thouſand Crowns a Week for his Privy Purſe; whereas *Maghmud* allow'd him no more monthly; and to find ſome agreeable Amuſement, he ordered that his Advice ſhould be follow'd in the royal Buildings *Maghmud* had begun to erect within the Walls of the Palace. *Aſzraff* continued the Work, and commanded his Builders to take Directions from *Schah Huſſein*, whoſe Time had almoſt always been employ'd in Building, which was his chiefeſt Delight; and beſides that, it was the beſt Amuſement he could have thought of for the depos'd King. The Buildings were like to be the more perfect for it, ſince no body underſtood that Art, or had a better Taſte in it, than *Schah Huſſein*, who indeed hardly underſtood any thing elſe.

In fine; to anſwer his Deſires in every thing, he marry'd one of his Daughters, as he had preſs'd him to do. For this Marriage he repudiated his Wife, and by it he not only gave the old King the Satisfaction to ſee him his Son-in-law, but acquir'd a new Right to the Crown.

He ſhew'd himſelf as good a Politician in his Conduct towards the Conſpirators who plac'd him in the Throne. After having made his Advantage of their Crime, he thought it for his Safety to puniſh an Inſurrection which had been ſo beneficial to him; and which to leave unpuniſh'd might be pernicious. He had not been King eight Days, when he arreſted all thoſe that had been concern'd in the Conſpiracy. Some of them he put to Death; ſome he ſhut up in Priſon, and confiſcated the Eſtates of all of them. By which Stroke of Policy he got a double Advantage, in delivering himſelf from the moſt turbulent and ſeditious Officers, and filling his Coffers with their Treaſures, which they had pillag'd from the Citizens of *Iſpahan* at the taking of that City. Theſe Treaſures were immenſe; for the Conſpirators were the principal Officers of the Army, and thoſe that got moſt of the Pillage: And it had been agreed between *Maghmud* and them before they enter'd *Iſpahan*, that the King's Treaſures ſhould be his, but that they ſhould have all the reſt they could find in the City. Beſides, when *Maghmud* ſlew 3000 of the chief *Perſian* Lords after the Rebellion at *Casbin*, and *Aman-Ulla*'s Defeat, he gave their Goods and their Wealth to thoſe very *Aghvan* Officers, whom *Aſzraff* now ſtripp'd of all; much to his Profit, as from all this will be eaſily conceiv'd.

Farther, the prodigious Riches he got by it may be calculated by what he made of the Confiſcation of *Aman-Ulla*'s Eſtate only. This Man, who was at firſt but a Santon, or Dervis, tho' ſome pretend he was Prince of *Kabul*, a Province between *Candahar* and the Territories of the *Great Mogul*, grew immenſely rich in the Reign of *Maghmud*, with whom he claim'd an equal Share of the Crown, as has been ſeen in the preceding Pages. And tho' the Uſurper did not reliſh the ſharing the Crown with him, he gave him full Liberty in every thing elſe, ſuffering him to pillage and plunder at pleaſure. He made him *Athemat-Doulet*, or Prime Miniſter of the Kingdom, after their laſt Reconciliation; and the very Preſents he took upon his entring on that Office amounted to 9000 Tomans, or 540000 Livres. From whence we may infer, that his Treaſures equalled thoſe of the greateſt Kings. I ſhall give but one Inſtance of his Greedineſs, by which gueſs may be made of his Avarice and Extortion in all his Management. This Robber, amidſt the moſt unbridled Licenſe to take whatever he would, did not diſdain to practiſe the groſſeſt Cheat to enrich himſelf. The Directors of the *Engliſh* Factory ſent him conſiderable Preſents at his Entrance into *Iſpahan* to obtain his Protection. Among the reſt was a Jewel worth 700 Tomans, or 42000 Livres. *Aman-Ulla* got a counterfeit Diamond, and ſent it back to the Factory in the place of the other, ſaying, he had rather have the Value of it in ready Money; which they were obliged to pay him. Tho' *Maghmud* comply'd with him in all things, the dividing the Crown excepted, and made him otherwiſe as great and as powerful as he could; yet he was one of the moſt vehement Conſpirators againſt him in favour of *Aſzraff*: In whom he found a more cunning and ſubtil Maſter than *Maghmud* was. Tho' *Aſzraff* made Advantage of his Treaſon, he was glad to have a Colour for puniſhing him, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the Treaſures he had ſcrap'd together; as alſo for getting rid of a Man, who having diſputed the Crown with his Predeceſſor, might think perhaps he had more Right to it than himſelf.

Sultan *Aſzraff* got not much leſs by *Miangi*'s Confiſcation. He had been *Maghmud*'s Governor in his Youth; and all the Operations of the War had been directed by his Counſels. He was an *Indian* of *Kabul*, and paſs'd for a Magician. The *Aghvans* themſelves attributed to his Sorcery all the Succeſs they had met with in their Enterprize. *Maghmud* had ſuch a Reſpect for him, that he never appear'd before him, but with his Hands on his Breaſt croſswiſe, as Children of Quality always appear before their Fathers in *Perſia*. He kiſs'd his Hand very ſubmiſſively, and would never ſit till *Miangi* bad him take a Seat near him. His Authority was ſo great, that what he order'd was done without Contradiction, even tho' it was to the Prejudice of *Maghmud's* own Orders, who never once oppos'd his Opinion or his Pleaſure. He was look'd upon as a Man of extraordinary Senſe and conſummate Prudence, and was at the Head of the Uſurper's Council, where his Advice was always predominant. 'Tis not ſaid he was one of the Conſpirators, nor is it likely he was of the Number. His Riches were the ſole Cauſe of his Ruin. The new King took all he had from him, but promis'd to ſend him to his own Country with a Reward ſuitable to his Services.

Zeberdeſt-Kan, who had ſo ſucceſsfully ſerv'd *Maghmud* in the War, was the only Man of all thoſe that had been arreſted for the Conſpiracy, who was ſet at Liberty; and he ow'd it only to his good Conduct at *Chiras*, where he commanded. For Sultan *Aſzraff*, who had beſides a good Opinion of his Capacity in War, and intended to take him into his Service, gave him his Pardon on the many Teſtimonies that were produced of his good Behaviour in his Government; to which he ſent him back with Remittances for 20000 Tomans rais'd out of the Confiſcations.

There were but two conſiderable Officers of the *Aghvan* Army, General *Sendal*, and *Machmet* of the Nation of the *Bolvoza*, who were not meddled with. All the reſt were involv'd in the common Misfortune, which the new King's own Brother was not exempted from. He was younger than *Aſzraff*; a lively young Man, who ſeeing his Brother on the Throne, was afraid he ſhould be ſerv'd as the Kings of *Perſia* were wont to ſerve their Brothers, and be ſhut up in the *Haram*. He did not come off ſo well; for having made his Eſcape, and being taken and brought back to *Aſzraff*, who had ſent Meſſengers after him, he caus'd his Eyes to be put out, by placing a Plate of Gold burning hot upon them, and then he was confin'd in the Place he was ſo much afraid of. *Maghmud's* Mother had alſo a Share of the Diſgrace into which his Friends fell. *Aſzraff* reſenting that ſhe had refus'd to interceed for him with her Son when he was a Priſoner, order'd her to be ſhut up a whole Night in the Court, where lay the rotting Carcaſſes of the Princes of the Blood, whoſe Throats her Son had cut; but the next Day he alter'd his mind, and treated her with Diſtinction and Favour, promiſing to ſend her home to *Candahar* with conſiderable Riches, and in the mean time making Proviſion for her Entertainment according to her Rank.

The Impriſonment of the Conſpirators, the moſt powerful Men among the *Aghvans*, the

Confiſcation of their Eſtates, and above all, the Death of moſt of them, had delivered him from thoſe of that Nation who could have given him any Umbrage; and his Humanity with reſpect to the Corps of the Princes of the Blood, whom he caus'd to be buried in the Sepulchre of the *Perſian* Kings, from whom they deſcended, had made very advantagious Impreſſions of him on the Minds of the People; who beſides, were not capable of undertaking any thing againſt him: neither was there any Fear of them in caſe of a Revolt, unleſs they had a Chief to head them, which muſt have been one of the Nobility; his Predeceſſor's murdering 300 *Perſian* Lords at a time, made him pretty ſafe on that Score; but there were ſtill twenty-five left, whom *Maghmud* had ſpar'd; whom happily for him, *Aſzraff* found a Pretence to rid himſelf of; which will be explain'd in giving a Relation of his artful Conduct with reſpect to Prince *Thamas*, who was very near falling into the Snare he had laid for him.

We muſt firſt ſuppoſe that during *Maghmud's* Sickneſs, which laſted two Months, *Aſzraff*, impriſon'd as he was, held Intelligence with Prince *Thamas*, by Means of thoſe twenty-five *Perſian* Lords whom *Maghmud* had not put to Death with the reſt. He and they wrote the Prince a Letter, inviting him to *Iſpahan*, and promiſing him to declare for him. He aſſured him, that he ſhould no ſooner appear with his Troops, than his Friends would take him out of Priſon, and he and they would joyn him with a great Part of the *Aghvan* Army. All he demanded for himſelf and them, in recompence of ſo important a Service, was the Preſervation of their Lives and their Eſtates, which he muſt article for in the beſt Form, and with the ſureſt Guaranty that could be. A Treaty was concluded on this Foot, before *Maghmud*'s Death, while *Aſzraff* was ſtill a Priſoner. He had receiv'd a Writing from Prince *Thamas*, wherein he engag'd himſelf in the ſtrongeſt Terms, calling down upon himſelf the moſt horrible Curſes, if he did not punctually and inviolably perform all and every of the Conditions ſtipulated in that Treaty.

Things ſtood thus, when by a moſt ſudden and unhop'd for Revolution, *Aſzraff* was taken from the Priſon, and plac'd on the Throne. This unforeſeen Change of Fortune, made him ſoon change Sentiments with reſpect to Prince *Thamas*, but not his Manner of Conduct. Tho' the Engagements he had enter'd into with that Prince to drive *Maghmud* from *Iſpahan*, could not ſubſiſt after the Uſurper's Death, yet he ſtill affected great Friendſhip for Prince *Thamas*, and to be always ready to treat of Peace with him. He began with ſending Expreſſes to all the Cities which own'd Prince *Thamas* as their Sovereign, to let them know, that his Troops ſhould not give them any Diſturbance, till it was determin'd who ſhould be Maſter. He at the ſame time, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Prince with a Preſent of ten fine Horſes in Royal Harneſſes, and a Propoſal of an Interview and a Conference with him, at a Place between the City of *Kom* and that of *Tehran*, to regulate their Intereſts, and by proper Meaſures taken in concert, to hinder the Deſtruction of ſo great a Monarchy.

Before this Embaſſy reach'd Prince *Thamas*, or he knew of *Maghmud's* Death, and the Choice of his Succeſſor, he had a new Advantage over General *Seidal*, who coming upon him with an Army ſtronger than before, was beaten, and more ſhamefully routed than in the former Overthrow; but he had an Opportunity by his Defeat to do the new Sultan a greater Piece of Service, than a Victory would have done him.

As ſoon as *Aſzraff* was ſeated on the Throne, the twenty-five *Perſian* Lords, by whoſe Canal, during his Impriſonment, he carry'd on his Treaty with Prince *Thamas*, ſent that Prince Information of the Revolution which had happen'd at *Iſpahan*. They told him in general, that the Face of Things was alter'd, and he muſt not depend on the Stipulations he had made with *Aſzraff*, but muſt think of other Meaſures.

Thoſe that carried theſe Letters were upon the Road, when the Battel was fought between Prince *Thamas* and *Seidal*, and very unhappily for themſelves and the Lords who ſent them, they fell into the Hands of that General, who intercepted them as he was retreating to the Capital after his Defeat. He ſeiz'd the Bearers and the Packets, and ſent them to the new Sultan.

Tho' there was nothing very criminal in the Information thoſe *Perſian* Lords had given Prince *Thamas*; nor any Treachery in their informing that Prince of the Change that happen'd at *Iſpahan*, ſince *Aſzraff* had himſelf employ'd them to mediate between him and Prince *Thamas*: yet the new Sultan made that a Colour to cut off thoſe five and twenty Lords, after which there would be none of the *Perſian* Nobility left to adviſe the Prince what Meaſures to take againſt him. So that he took hold of this Occaſion, the Information they gave Prince *Thamas*, which he made High Treaſon, to ſerve them as *Maghmud* had ſerv'd the 300: and inviting them to his Pleaſure-Houſe at *Farabat*, as if to hunt with him, he caus'd them every one to be murder'd. And as this Murder could not but raiſe Diffidence in the Mind of the Prince whom he deſign'd only to amuſe with an Embaſſy to ſurpriſe him, he immediately took the Field with an Army of 20000 Men, the moſt he could get ready in haſte, and march'd to the Place where the Interview was appointed to be. The Prince decoy'd by that Embaſſy, and the kind Offers of the new Sultan, miſtruſted nothing, but advanced ſecurely towards the Place of Conference, and having much leſs Number of Troops with him than the Sultan, he had doubtleſs been ſurpriſed by him, if the Nearneſs of Danger had not made him bethink himſelf of Precautions. He thought it was not prudent to truſt to an Enemy's Word without examining Places and Diſpoſition of things beforehand. To that Purpoſe he detach'd one of his Lieutenants, *Aſlan-Kan*, to get Intelligence; and the latter finding *Aſzraff* was approaching with an Army, inſtead of a ſmall Body of Troops as an Eſcort, and that without ſtopping at the Place of Rendezvous, he continu'd his March towards the Prince; he ſent his Maſter notice of it, that he might ſtand upon his Guard.

Prince *Thamas*, who had lately got two Victories over the *Aghvans* commanded by General *Seidal*, had ſuch Confidence in his Troops, and in his good Fortune, that tho' he was much weaker than *Aſzraff* in Numbers, he was reſolv'd to attack him; and would have done it, if Jealouſy, which had ſown Diviſion in his little Army, had not ſpoil'd his Deſign. They conſiſted of Forces of two Nations, *Kagiats* and *Kitzibaſz*, or as *Tavernier* calls them, *Keſelbachs* or *Red-Heads*, ſo term'd from the Red Caps they wore formerly. The *Kagiats* were more in Number; and taking Advantage of the Prince's

Want of them, they told him they were ready to ſpend their laſt Drop of Blood in his Service, and would anſwer for the Victory; but in Recompence, they demanded that to honour their Militia he would promiſe to chuſe for the future the *Athamat-Doulet*, or Prime Miniſter, out of it. This the *Kizitbaſz* oppos'd, and the two Bodies divided upon it. The Prince's Authority, which they obey'd but juſt as much as they pleas'd, was too weak to reconcile them, and *Thamas* was oblig'd to give back, inſtead of attacking the Enemy. He retir'd into the Province of *Maſandran*, near the *Caſpian* Sea, and the *Aghvans* aſſaulted the Cities of *Kom*, *Sava* and *Tehran*. They took the two former, but were repuls'd by the latter with very great Loſs. One can't tell where the Author of the Relation inſerted in the Second Volume, for *December*, 1726, learn'd that Prince *Thamas* retir'd at firſt to this City, whence, according to him, he made his Eſcape in the Night; and that *Aſzraff* afterwards forc'd and ſack'd the Town, out of Spite at his miſſing Prince *Thamas* there. It is falſe that Prince *Thamas* retir'd thither; and *Aſzraff* was ſo far from taking the Town, that he was beaten off, and compell'd to raiſe the Siege, with the Loſs of a great many Men. After the Prince had ſecur'd himſelf in *Maſandran*, he was no more talk'd of. The Diſcord and Diſſentions that grew among the few Troops he had, depriv'd him of all Means of making head againſt the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*, who each broke in on a Part of the Kingdom; much leſs againſt the *Aghvans*, who were Maſters of the Capital, and moſt of the inland Provinces.

The *Muſcovites* did not puſh their Conqueſts much beyond the Borders of the *Caſpian* Sea; but the *Turks* carry'd theirs farther within Land. If they were defeated by Prince *Thamas* before *Tauris* in 1724, they had their Revenge at *Amadan*, the moſt conſiderable City in *Perſia*, equal in Bigneſs and Strength to *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*; for the Baſha of the latter City poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Amadan*, after having cut to pieces the Relief Prince *Thamas* ſent it, as has been ſaid in its place. But all theſe Exploits were only a Prelude to what they were to do in the following Year 1725. They then enter'd *Perſia* three ſeveral ways with three Armies. One fell upon *Georgia*, where they found no Reſiſtance; this Province having been ruin'd, firſt by the Civil Wars between Prince *Thamas* and *Vachtanga* Prince of *Georgia*; then by the *Leſgians*, who ſeiz'd *Teflis* the Capital, and deſtroy'd it, and all that was in it, with Fire and Sword. The City of *Gengea*, Capital of a Principality of the ſame Name, famous for the Silk Trade, and one of the faireſt and richeſt Cities in *Perſia*, held out but two Days, and ſurrender'd to the *Turks* by Capitulation.

The Army that enter'd *Perſia* on the Side of *Erivan* took that Place by Storm at the firſt Attack; and there were 30000 *Armenians*, who could not get into the City, put to the Sword, whatever the *Turkiſh* Officers could do to prevent it. But the *Janiſaries* remembring their Loſs before *Tauris* laſt Year, where the *Armenians* ſpar'd none, were ſo enrag'd againſt them, that there was no ſaving them out of their Hands. The Citadel ſuſtain'd a Siege of two Months, at the End of which it was ſurrender'd by the Interpoſition of the *Armenian* Patriarch. Beſides the 30000 *Armenians* who were kill'd at the taking of the City, there was a great Number carry'd into Captivity, driven along like ſo many Herds of Cattle. Their Number diminiſh'd ſo during theſe Wars, that at the End of 1725, there were not half ſo many in *Perſia*, as before the coming of the *Aghvans*. The only *Armenians* that continued to make Reſiſtance, were thoſe that retired to the Mountains of *Kapan*. None had contributed more than they to the Defeat of the *Turks* before *Tauris*. They drove them away a ſecond time; but being abandon'd by Prince *Thamas*, they made peace with the *Turks*, who granted them what Conditions they would have. 'Twas agreed, that upon Payment of a certain Tribute they ſhould have no Gariſon, but only a ſmall Number of *Turkiſh* Officers to command there in the

Grand Signior's room. The *Turks* being very well pleas'd that they ſhould render themſelves irreconcileable to the *Perſians* their old Maſters, permitted them to make Inroads into *Perſia*, and plunder their Towns and Villages. They made uſe of this Permiſſion, like Men who had not forgot the Inſults and Injuries they had ſuffer'd from the *Perſians* for more than a hundred Years paſt. They now pillag'd them in their turn, and in different Places took from them conſiderable Booty.

Tauris, heretofore the Capital of *Perſia*, and the greateſt City of the Kingdom next to *Iſpahan*, fell into the Hands of the *Turks* in the Year 1725, and was almoſt as ſoon taken as beſieged. *Oſman Baſha*, who commanded at this Siege, had caus'd the Chriſtians to be told, that they ſhould retire with their Effects into the Churches, aſſuring them they ſhould come to no Damage. He even publiſh'd an Order in his Camp, that no Churches ſhould be pillag'd, tho' the Town was taken by Storm. But this Baſha being one of the firſt who was kill'd in the Aſſault, his Order did not take place; and the *Turks*, as much to revenge the Death of their General, as out of Reſentment for their Loſs before the City the Year preceding, put all to the Sword without Diſtinction. The Slaughter laſted five Days, and above 200000 Men were ſlain.

In the mean time, *Achmet Baſha*, who made himſelf Maſter of *Amadan* in 1724, made an Irruption on the Side of *Iſpahan* in the Year 1725. He left a ſtrong Gariſon in *Amadan*, and advanced with his Army as far as *Hurmavat*, within three Days Journey of *Iſpahan*. This Country is occupy'd by the *Bachtylarians*, who live there under Tents. They pretend to have authentick Titles, by which they prove that their Anceſtors were converted to the Chriſtian Faith under *Conſtantine* the Great. If the *Lorians* their Neighbours would have acted in concert with them at the Arrival of the *Aghvans*, theſe two Nations would have been ſtrong enough to have repuls'd them, and delivered the Capital. But an antient Antipathy between them hinder'd them from joining; and they were not potent enough each by itſelf to make head againſt the Rebels.

At the Approach of *Achmet Baſha*'s Army, the *Bachtylarians* retir'd to the Mountains with their Families and their Flocks, which are all their Wealth; and as they knew all the Defiles in the Country, they watched their time to fall upon the *Turks*. They incommoded them ſo much, and kept them in ſuch continual Exerciſe by their unexpected Attacks, that *Achmet Baſha* was obliged to march back in *October* 1725; the rather, for that he was recalled by the Irruption of the *Arabians*, who waſted the Country about

Babylon with more Fury than ever. *Achmet* loſt abundance of Men in this Expedition, and with no other Fruit of it, than having ſtruck Terror into the Cantons where he paſs'd. This was one of the Sieges of *Iſpahan*, which the *European* Gazettes ſay the *Turks* made, without the leaſt Foundation; for they came not within two Days Journey of the City. The ſame *Gazettes* are as much out in what they ſay of the Advantages which the ſame *Achmet Baſha* obtain'd over *Ali-merdan-Kan* the *Perſian* General, who beat him ſeveral times, and once made himſelf Maſter of his Baggage. This General had with him two of his Daughters who follow'd him in Mens Cloaths, and 'tis ſaid fought by his Side at the Battel of *Giulnabat*. He took them with him in his Incurſions towards *Balſora*. He ruin'd all that Coaſt which belongs to the *Turks*, and returned in Triumph with a great Booty. There was no *Perſian* Captain ſo formidable to the *Turks*. They look'd upon him as the Thunderbolt of War, and never durſt ſtand before him. The *Perſians*, whoſe *Achilles* he was, grounded all their Hopes upon him, and no body was more proper than he to ſupport and perhaps re-eſtabliſh Prince *Thamas*'s Affairs. But that Valour which ſhould have the more endear'd him to the Prince, render'd him the more ſuſpected by him; inſomuch, that he tamper'd with one of his Brothers to betray and deſtroy him.

Thus was *Alimerdan-Kan* oblig'd to leave him, ſpite of his own Inclinations, and provide for his own Safety.

While theſe things paſt in the *Weſtern* Provinces of *Perſia*, Prince *Thamas*, who had retir'd to the Province of *Maſandran*, underſtood that the City of *Meſzat*, on the Confines of Great *Tartary* was beſieg'd: 'tis ſpoken of already in this Hiſtory: it ſuffices to ſay here, that *Meſzat* is to the *Perſians*, what *Mecca* is to the *Turks*. Prince *Thamas* who was in no Condition to go by himſelf to the Relief of this City, applied to a neighbouring Prince, Vaſſal to the Kingdom of *Perſia*, to whom he ſent rich Preſents, to engage him in the Enterprize. *Melik-Magmoud*, ſo was that Prince nam'd, receiv'd the Preſents, march'd to the Relief of *Meſzat*, and rais'd the Siege: but inſtead of reſtoring it to Prince *Thamas* after he had deliver'd it, he ſeiz'd it to his own Uſe, and joyn'd it to his Territories. There are ſeveral other little Princes on the Coaſt of the *Perſian* Gulph, Vaſſals to the Crown of *Perſia*, but more in Name than Effect, each of them being too weak to render himſelf abſolutely independant. They had not thrown off the Yoke, but they were not at all helpful to Prince *Thamas*, whom they aſſiſted neither with Men nor Money. 'Tis impoſſible but they muſt follow the Fate of the reſt of the Kingdom, and become an Acceſſion of Victory to the *Aghvans*. Happy if the latter do not reduce them to a Dependance more troubleſome than was that with which the Kings of the Race of *Sophy* were contented.

The *Leſgians*, a barbarous Nation whom we have often ſpoken of, and who dwell under Mount *Caucaſus*, between *Georgia* and the *Caſpian* Sea, were too much accuſtom'd to pillage *Perſia* in the moſt peaceable Times, to be idle Spectators, now every thing was in Diſorder; ſo that they broke in upon the neighbouring Provinces, which they plunder'd and waſted. After they had ravag'd *Georgia* with the utmoſt Inhumanity, they left it on the Approach of the *Turks*, to do the ſame by the Province of *Szyrwan*, in their Neighbourhood, between the *Caſpian* Sea and *Erivan*. They made themſelves Maſters of *Szamaki*, the richeſt City in *Perſia*, and the ſtrongeſt of the Province. They alſo ſeiz'd ſeveral leſſer Cities; but the *Muſcovites* coming upon them ſoon after, they abandon'd all of them, and extended their Conqueſts along the Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, as far as the Province of *Ghilan*, which bounds that Coaſt, turning from *Weſt* to *South*, and which they entirely ſubdu'd. Thus there remain'd only to Prince *Thamas*, the Province of *Maſandran*, South of the *Caſpian* Sea, and ſome Cantons in the other Provinces; and even there, they obey him no more than they pleaſe, and rather out of Compaſſion to

his

his Misfortunes, than from any other Motive.

The Affairs of *Perſia* being in this Situation, *Aſzraff*, who had miſs'd his Blow, as to ſurprizing Prince *Thamas*, was no ſooner return'd to *Iſpahan* from that Expedition, than he thought of taking effectual Meaſures to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom. He was not afraid of Prince *Thamas*'s hurting him, but he ſaw a more dangerous Enemy to make head againſt, and that was the *Grand-Signior.* He was ſenſible that if the War laſted two or three Years longer, even tho' he ſhould have the better of the *Turks*, he would find himſelf drain'd of Men, and forc'd to ſuccumb in the midſt of Victories. He had no Hopes of Recruits from *Candahar* Side, where *Maghmud*'s Elder Brother was Maſter, and more diſpos'd to diſpute the Crown with him, as Heir to his Brother, than to help to maintain him in his Uſurpation. Beſides, tho' his Dominion extended over a great Part of *Perſia*, he was not abſolute Maſter of all the Ground he had gotten. There were many fortified Towns, not only in the Provinces, but even about *Iſpahan*, which he had not yet reduc'd. He thought it was of more Importance to him entirely to ſubdue the Provinces of which he was Maſter, than to diſpute the reſt with the *Turks*. He could not regulate Matters at home, as long as he had the *Ottomans* upon his Hands: wherefore he reſolved to treat with them on the beſt Conditions he could; and to that Effect, he ſent an Ambaſſador to the *Porte* about the End of the Year 1725.

The Perſon he made choice of for this Embaſſy, was an *Aghvan*, who from a Mule-driver, was advanc'd to be a Colonel. But becauſe a Man of that Stamp was not very proper to manage a Negotiation, he gave him only the Title of Ambaſſador, and joyn'd with him *Manuel-Cheriman*, Head of the Family of that Name, the moſt noble and conſiderable of all the *Armenian* Families at *Zulfa*, to act and negotiate according to his Intentions, with the *Grand-Signior's* Miniſters.

In the mean time, the War ſtill continu'd between the *Turks* and *Aghvans*, but without gaining an Inch of Ground one of the other; which at laſt determin'd the *Turks* to make Peace with *Aſzraff*. I ſhall touch very lightly upon the Operations of the War in the two laſt Years: my Memoirs, which go no farther than the Year 1725, taking no Notice of them. As to Gazettes and News-Papers, there's no depending on them: they are either dry and barren, or fictitious and falſe. I ſhall make no further Mention of Military Events, than as they have Relation to the Treaty which put an End to it, and as thoſe Events did facilitate or retard it.

At the End of the Year 1725, *Perſia* was divided between four Powers. *Aſzraff* poſſeſs'd the greateſt Part of the Inward Provinces. The *Turks* were Maſters of near 150 Leagues in Length, from the City of *Amandan*, which is towards the 27th Degree North Latitude, to the North of *Georgia* in the 43d. Degree of the ſame Latitude. The *Muſcovites* were Maſters of all the Weſtern Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and of the Province of *Ghilan*, which bounds it, turning to the South; that is, from 37 Degrees of North Latitude, to 45; being 160 Leagues of Country in Length: but their Conqueſts are very narrow towards the Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and do no where extend much in Breadth, being ſcarce a Quarter as conſiderable as thoſe of the *Turks*. The Prince who has moſt Right to all theſe conquer'd Provinces, that is, Prince *Thamas*, has the leaſt Share of them: for he has nothing but the Province of *Maſandran*, to the South of the *Caſpian* Sea, where his Authority is not much reverenc'd. The other Three pillage it, and are all willing to treat with him to preſerve their Conqueſts. 'Tis true, as to *Aſzraff*'s Accommodation it is out of the Queſtion: for ſince the Conference that was propos'd, and his Intention to ſurprize Prince *Thamas* at it, there is no Likelihood that the Prince will give Ear to any ſuch Propoſition on his Part; and the Uſurper himſelf does not think of it. But as to the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*, it is not their Fault that the Prince does not put his Fortune into their Hands.

The *Muſcovites*, who made their Conqueſts rather like cunning Men than greedy Men, thought of nothing but of keeping theirs. They fear'd no body but *Aſzraff* or the *Grand-Seignior*. If they had been Maſters of the Fortunes of Prince *Thamas*, this would have made them entirely eaſy on the ſide of *Aſzraff*, who out of Apprehenſion of their aſſiſting him with Forces to ſupport his Title, would have given them no Diſturbance in their Conqueſts. But without that Advantage, it was not difficult for them to keep what they had got, ſince a middling Army in the Province of *Ghilan*, wou'd cover them on the Side of *Perſia*. They were more expos'd on the Side of *Georgia*, from whence the *Turks* might attack them: and 'tis on this Account, that they have been labouring theſe two laſt Years to obtain Commiſſioners to fix the Bounds of both Empires, with relation to their new Conqueſts, purſuant to a Treaty concluded between the *Czar* and the *Grand-Signior*.

As to the *Turks*, who after the taking of *Iſpahan*, and the Dethronement of *Schah-Huſſein*, had in their Hearts devoured all *Perſia*, they were not very forward to perform that Part of the Treaty. Not content with being Maſters of the vaſt Country they had already conquer'd, they aim'd ſtill to poſſeſs themſelves of what the *Aghvans* and *Muſcovites* had got. They were doubtleſs the moſt powerful of all the Competitors, and therefore ſuppoſed that whatever Turn Affairs took, the Reckoning muſt be made up with them, and their Conqueſts wou'd be confirm'd to them whenever they thought fit to make a Peace. This is the Reaſon why they were ſo difficult in appointing Commiſſioners to fix the Bounds of thoſe Conqueſts, and to conclude a Treaty with the *Aghvans* which was two Years in negotiating before they came to a Concluſion. All that time they were treating with Prince *Thamas*, whom they often promis'd to reſtore to the Throne of *Perſia*; and probably they might intend it, becauſe 'twas for their Intereſt: For that Prince would not only have given up to them that Part of the Kingdom, which they had poſſeſs'd themſelves of, for his Reſtoration, but they would have kept him in ſo great a Dependance upon them, that under the Title of King, he ſhould have had no more Power in *Perſia*, than a Baſha of *Babylon*.

Sultan *Aſzraff* ſaw what both the *Turks* and *Muſcovites* aim'd at; and being convinc'd that while he was at War with ſuch powerful Enemies, he ſhould never be able to ſettle his new Dominion on a ſolid Foundation, he bent all his Views to a Peace with the *Turks*, as the Enemy he was moſt afraid of, and to whom he offer'd to ſacrifice all the Country they had conquer'd in *Perſia*; Prince *Thamas* himſelf having made the ſame Offers, if he was re-eſtabliſh'd by their Means.

Notwithſtanding that the proud *Muſſulmans* gave themſelves very haughty Airs, during the whole Courſe of the Negotiations between *Aſzraff* and them, yet he bore them all, and continu'd the Treaty. He perceiv'd they rais'd ſo many Difficulties, in Hopes of ſome great Event, which would make them entire Maſters of Peace or War on their own Terms; wherefore he ſtood on the defenſive, and would not run the Riſk of a general and deciſive Action, except he could take them at a certain Advantage. By this wiſe Management, he gain'd his Ends of them at laſt, and oblig'd them to ſign the Peace he had demanded of them two Years before.

His Ambaſſador arriv'd at *Conſtantinople* the 18th of *January*, 1726. He had been expected ſome Time; and on a Rumour of his coming, the *Muſcovite* Envoy made Inſtances with the *Grand-Vizier*, that he ſhould not be admitted to Audience. The Pretence for his oppoſing it, was, that the Miniſters of the Chief of the *Perſian* Rebels could make no Propoſitions to the *Porte*, but what muſt be prejudicial to *Muſcovy*; and therefore could not have Audience without ſtriking at the Treaties concluded between the late *Czar* and the *Grand-Signior*. But the *Grand-Vizier* anſwer'd, That according to the Laws of the *Ottoman* Empire, he could not avoid hearing all *Muſſulmen* who had Affairs with the *Grand-Signior* his Maſter; and all the *Muſcovite* Miniſter could obtain, was the Communication of what was treated of with *Aſzraff's* Envoy, who was favourably receiv'd; and as ſoon as he arriv'd, Commiſſioners were appointed to enter upon a Negotiation on the Propoſitions he had to make.

But all theſe favourable Diſpoſitions vaniſh'd at the firſt Audience the *Grand-Vizier* gave *Aſzraff's* Miniſter; who having given his Maſter the Title of the *Grand-Sophi*, the *Vizier* would not treat on that Foot, and upon an Equality with a Head of Rebels: and indeed it ſo ſhock'd him, that he would hear him no more, but diſmiſs'd him without Conference, aſſembl'd the *Divan*, declar'd Sultan *Aſzraff* an Enemy to the *Grand Signior*, and order'd his Ambaſſador to depart *Conſtantinople*. There had not till then, been open War between the *Turks* and *Aghvans*; but now the former began to think of carrying it on againſt the latter with Vigour, and propos'd nothing leſs than to beſiege *Aſzraff* in *Iſpahan*.

The *Ottoman* Army conſiſting of 70000 Men, they took the Field early, and having ſurpriſed *Casbin*, which the *Aghvans* then poſſeſs'd, they marched to *Iſpahan*. *Aſzraff* being informed of their coming, ſo waſted all the Country between the Capital and *Casbin*, that the *Ottomans* found not wherewithal to ſubſiſt, and were forced to take By-Roads, where the Country was not waſted ſo much. While they were on this March, the Inhabitants of *Casbin*, excited by *Aſzraff*'s Emiſſaries, roſe upon the *Turkiſh* Gariſon, and drove them out of the City, which was again gariſon'd by *Aghvans*. The *Turks*, who were poſted in the Neighbourhood of *Iſpahan*, were attack'd by *Aſzraff*'s Troops, and worſted. That Uſurper had ſo well provided for the Defence of his Capital, that the *Ottomans* thought it would be in vain to beſiege it. There were 25000 *Aghvans*, regular Troops, within the City, and a great Body without, who continually harraſs'd the *Turks*, and had the better of them in all Engagements. Theſe Diſgraces, and the Improbability of their being able to ſubſiſt long before the Place, after the Country about it was left ſo deſolate, made them retire into *Georgia* much diminiſh'd in Number. And thus ended the Campaign of 1726, in which Sultan *Aſzraff* by his good Conduct acquir'd both Advantage and Honour.

The *Turks* finding by this, that things would not take ſuch a happy Turn for them as they expected, renew'd their Negotiations with Prince *Thamas*. 'Twas reported then that he inclin'd to accede to the Treaty concluded between the late *Czar* and the *Grand Signior* for preſerving their Conqueſts in *Perſia*; which he conſented to abandon to them, on condition that they joined together to re-eſtabliſh him on the Throne, according to a Reſolution taken in the *Turkiſh* Divan the 7th of *July* the ſame Year, 1726. Which Reſolution was however more eaſily taken in the Divan, than executed in *Perſia*, where the *Turks* were much more baffled by *Aſzraff* in the Campaign of 1727. They were beaten firſt by a Body of *Aghvans*, who attack'd them in their Quarters of Refreſhment. This Defeat was ſo entire, that the *Janiſaries* and *Tartars* intimidated by certain Prophecies which *Aſzraff* ſpread among them by his Emiſſaries, ſurrender'd themſelves Priſoners of War. The ſecond time they were beaten, was near the City of *Amadan*, where *Aſzraff* in Perſon defeated a Body of 16000 Men, who were coming to the Relief of *Marſaim*, which he was about to beſiege. Nay, 'tis ſaid that purſuing the *Turks* to the Gates of *Amadan*, he enter'd it with them, and took the City.

Beſides that *Aſzraff* was a great Captain, one thing gave him a particular Advantage over the *Turks*, which was his pretending that he only defended himſelf againſt Men whom he always regarded as his Brethren, being not only of the ſame Religion, but alſo of the ſame Sect of the *Sunnis*. He proteſted when he was in the Heat of Battel, that it was Death to him to be forced to draw his Sword againſt them, and almoſt ask'd them pardon for killing them; which he was neceſſitated to do for the Preſervation of his own and his Friends Lives.

All theſe Misfortunes, and the Loſs of a great Convoy the *Turks* were ſending to *Perſia* by the *Black Sea* which was caſt away, together with the Mutiny of Part of the Army for want of Pay and Proviſions, obliged the *Porte* at laſt to think ſeriouſly of Peace. They had loſt near 150000 Men of their beſt Troops. The Grand Signior's Treaſure was exhauſted, and the *Jews*, who were not reimburs'd their Loans, refus'd to lend any more. Nothing is ſo burthenſome even to the greateſt Princes as new Conqueſts, where the Officers and Soldiers are the Gainers, while the Princes are at all the Expence, without having the leaſt clear Profit. All theſe Conſiderations determin'd the *Ottoman* Court to put an end to a War, in which for two Years they had been the Loſers. Accordingly they diſpatch'd *Berthullah Effendi*, a Man of great Capacity, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with *Aſzraff*; which was not difficult to accompliſh as ſoon as the *Turks* were in earneſt; Sultan *Aſzraff* having always offer'd to yield up to them all they had conquer'd in *Perſia* before they declar'd War with him.

It was only requir'd of him, that as a Salvo to the Grand Signior's Honour, he would write him a Letter, wherein he ſhould proteſt he never took Arms againſt the *Turks* but in his own Defence, and that he demanded Peace. *Aſzraff* made no Scruple of this; and the *Divan* of *Conſtantinople*, contented with the Compliment, gave Orders for concluding the Peace; which was agreed upon and ſign'd by Sultan *Aſzraff* and the Seraſquier who commanded the *Turkiſh* Army in *Perſia*, about the End of *September*, 1727: and the News of it arriving at *Conſtantinople* the 18th of *November* following, was the ſame Day proclaim'd at the Gate of the Hall of the *Divan*, and in the principal Places of the City. The moſt conſiderable Articles of the Treaty, were,

I. That Sultan *Aſzraff* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Perſia*, under what Title he thought fit.

II. That the *Grand-Signior* ſhould not aſſiſt the Enemies of the new Sovereign.

III. That he ſhould recognize as legitimate, and lawfully contracted, *Aſzraff*'s Marriage with the King of *Perſia*'s Daughter; and that the eldeſt Son by that Marriage ſhould enjoy all the Prerogatives of the eldeſt Son of a Sovereign.

IV. That the Conqueſts which the *Grand-Signior* had made in *Perſia*, comprehending

ing *Tauris* and *Amadan,* ſhould remain to him.

V. That Sultan *Aſzraff* ſhould reſtore to the Commanders of the *Ottoman* Troops, all the Artillery and military Stores he had taken from them at ſeveral Times.

VI. That he ſhall conſent that the *Turks* recover Poſſeſſion of the Territory of *Houvets,* which an *Arabian* Prince had ſeiz'd; and ſhall joyn, if Need be, his Troops with thoſe of his Highneſs, to drive out the Uſurper.

VII. That the *Grand-Signior* ſhall grant a full Pardon to *Sultan-Dely*, who with the *Tartars* his Vaſſals or Subjects, joyn'd the Troops of *Aſzraff* in the laſt Years of the War.

VIII. That the *Grand-Signior* ſhall name Commiſſioners as ſoon as poſſible, to ſettle with *Aſzraff* the Limits of the two States, which ſhall hereafter be their Boundaries.

Beſides theſe Articles, there were ſome ſecret ones, which were not thought proper to be made publick: but 'tis rumour'd that the *Grand-Signior* and Sultan *Aſzraff,* have

agreed

agreed punctually to aſſiſt one another to recover thoſe Provinces that have lately been conquer'd, and that belong to their States.

Thus was the Revolution confirm'd according to all Appearance, by this Treaty, which gives *Aſzraff* a ſolid Settlement on the Throne he has in poſſeſſion. The natural *Perſians*, who are moſt intereſted to dethrone him, do not ſeem to be in a Situation to attempt it. Almoſt all the old Nobility in *Perſia* are deſtroy'd. The People are of themſelves capable of nothing: beſides, they are ſo kept under, and in ſo humble a Condition, that nothing can be apprehended from them. Of ſeven different Nations that now inhabit *Perſia*, the *Perſian* is the loweſt in Rank, and is oblig'd to yield to the others in every thing: for in *Perſia*, as in all Countries where *Mahometiſm* prevails, Rank is equally regulated; and a private Man of a conquer'd Nation, gives Precedence to a private Man of a ſuperior State whenever he meets him. This Ceremony conſiſts in that the Inferior holds his Arms acroſs his Breaſt, and ſtands before the Superior, as if he waited for his Commands; and the latter by ſaying *Selam-Eleik*, ſeems to give him Liberty to go on in his Way. All private Men that fail in this or any thing elſe which marks the Difference between Superior and Inferior, are puniſhable by the Laws: by which the Nations are rank'd in the following Manner, purſuant to an Edict publiſh'd in *Iſpahan*, and all over the Kingdom, ſince the *Aghvans* conquer'd it.

The *Firſt* Rank is aſſign'd to the *Aghvans*, as Conquerors of *Perſia*.

The *Second* to the *Armenians*, who are ſcatter'd up and down the Kingdom in great Numbers.

The *Third* to the *Dergeſins*, the People whom *Maghmud* brought from the Extremities of *Perſia* to dwell at *Iſpahan*, above 100000 in Number. They are of the ſame *Muſſulman* Sect as the *Aghvans*, i. e. the Sect of the *Sunnis*, as the *Turks* are.

The *Fourth* Rank is aſſign'd to the *Multany*, who are *Indian Banians*, ſo call'd from the City of *Multan*, one of the principal Cities of *India*, and the neareſt to *Perſia* on *Candahar* Side. The firſt *Indians* that dwelt in *Perſia*, came from the City of *Multan*: they drive the principal Trade at *Iſpahan*, are great Uſurers, and have almoſt all the Money of the Capital in their Hands.

The *Fifth* Rank is aſſign'd to the *Gaures*, ancient *Perſians*, who worſhip Fire, and the greateſt Enemies to the modern *Perſians*. *Schah-Soleiman* began to make them turn *Muſſulmans*; and *Schah-Huſſein* his Son, continu'd to force them to do it, which is one of their greateſt Cauſes of Hatred to the *Mahometan Perſians*: but the *Aghvans* have given them the free Exerciſe of their Religion.

The *Sixth* Rank is to the *Jews*.

The *Seventh* and *Laſt* Rank is to the Natural *Perſians*, who are treated like Slaves by the ſix other Nations.

Tho' the *Armenians* are *Chriſtians*, their great Number and Riches engag'd the *Aghvans* to prefer them to the other Nations; and being perſuaded that there is none more intereſted in ſupporting their Power, ſince they would be the firſt Victims to the Vengeance of the *Perſians*, if the latter ſhould recover their Dominion, they have granted them great Privileges; and have alſo given them a Superiority over the Natural *Perſians*, which cannot fail to keep up the Diviſion and Animoſity for ever between theſe two Nations.

T'is order'd in their favour, by an Edict publiſh'd at *Zulfa*, that all Proceſſes riſing among them ſhall be determin'd by Judges of their own Nation; and all *Armenians* who appeal to any other Judge ſhall be fin'd.

In the Reign of the *Sophis*, the *Armenians* at *Zulfa* were plunder'd in the Night-time, and 'twas Death for an *Armenian* to wound a *Perſian* ever ſo ſlightly, tho' in his own Defence. But ſince the taking of *Iſpahan*, they were permitted to do Juſtice themſelves on thoſe nightly Robbers; and they have done it boldly, by hanging up ſome, cutting off the Ears and ſlitting the Noſes of others, according to their Crimes. They diſpatch'd ſeven in one Day, who had not only robb'd a Houſe in the Night, but had murder'd the Maſter of the Family.

In fine, there is not one of the ſix Nations we have mention'd, who have not a particular Intereſt to keep the Natural *Perſians* low, and ſupport the Authority of the *Aghvans*. There's all the Reaſon in the World to believe that their Power will be more and more eſtabliſh'd; eſpecially under the Government of a Prince ſo wiſe and experienc'd, as he who now reigns in *Perſia*, and who has perfected this great Revolution. One has Cauſe to look upon this Event as an extraordinary Leſſon of Providence to all Princes, eſpecially thoſe of *Aſia*, where moſt of them ſtagnate in Sloth and Effeminacy, and to whom may juſtly be apply'd the Words which a great King, and a great Prophet ſeems to apply to them, *Be wiſe now therefore, O ye Kings; be inſtructed, ye Judges of the Earth.*

APPENDIX.

SINCE the firſt Publication of this Hiſtory, which, according to Advices from *Turky*, is now printing at *Conſtantinople* from the Tranſlation of *Ibrahim Effendi*, Director of the new Printing-Houſe there, ſuch ſtrange Revolutions, and ſo many different Scenes have happen'd in the Kingdom and Affairs of *Perſia*, as would afford Matter enough for almoſt another Volume, and 'tis not unlikely that in a Year or two more, a third may be added to theſe two. Mean time the Bookſeller has been induc'd to print this Addition of Particulars which are judg'd too material to be poſtpon'd.

As the Second Volume concludes with the Treaty between Sultan *Aſzraff* and the *Turks*; the firſt thing that offers worthy of Remark, is the Ratification of that Treaty by *Aſzraff*, as it was ſent to the Grand Signior, of which the following is an exact Tranſlation:

"In the Name of God, Creator of Hea-
"ven and Earth, We *Aſzraff*, *Emir Kan*,
"and *Chan* of *Perſia*, moſt humbly beſeech
"him who is in the Seat of the Holy Pro-
"phet

'phet, the moſt exalted of Emperors, more 'powerful and intrepid than *Alexander*, Sovereign of two Seas, Maſter of two Parts 'of the World, Protector of *Jeruſalem*, 'Maſter of the two Temples of *Mecca* and '*Medina*, ſurpaſſing *Darius* in Pomp and 'Grandeur, and, like him, Sovereign of the 'Kingdom of *Perſia*, wearing Crowns ſhining with Glory, the moſt formidable and 'dread Lord, the Refuge of the Orthodox, '(may God prolong his Days for ever) to 'be pleaſed to approve and ratify the Articles of Peace * which have been ſettled in "the following manner, *viz.* That we ſend "every Year an *Emir Hadagi* to *Mecca*: That "for the future the *Perſians* ſhall have full "Liberty to viſit the Tomb of *Ali*; That "they be likewiſe allow'd to traffick in all the "Places of the *Ottoman* Empire, and enjoy "the ſame Privileges as heretofore; That "there ſhall be conſtantly an Ambaſſador "from us at the *Ottoman Porte*; That the "*Porté* be obliged by this Treaty to uſe "their good Offices with the Czar of *Muſcovy* to obtain the Liberty of *Uſſein Beg*, a "Muſſulman of the Nation of *Leskis*; That "we ſhall ſend every Year into the Treaſury "of the Commander of the Faithful, 1500 "Purſes as a free Gift: Laſt of all, We

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* Theſe probably were the *Secret Articles* hinted at in Page 195. Vol. II.

"ſwear by the Holy *Alcoran*, the Book ſent "from Heaven, and by the Miracles of our "Holy Prophet, to keep and maintain this "Treaty, and curſed be thoſe of our Poſte- "rity who infringe it.

"The Grand Signior is intreated by us, "who humble our ſelves at the Foot of his "Throne, to be pleaſed forthwith to ratify "theſe Articles, of which ſolemn and authen- "tick Inſtruments have been delivered, *viz.* "one on the Part of *Ahmed Pacha* into our "Hands, and one reciprocally on our Part "to *Ahmed Pacha.*

Sign'd in the Original,

Mehemet Emir Aſzraff Kan.

'Tis to be noted there was a further Stipulation, That Prince *Thamas*, Son to the old *Sophi*, ſhould make no Pretenſions to the Throne of *Perſia*, except in caſe Sultan *Aſzraff* died without Iſſue; That Prince *Thamas* ſhould reſide in *Conſtantinople*, or ſome other Place of the *Ottoman* Empire, to prevent his raiſing any Inſurrection in *Perſia* againſt *Aſzraff*; That the Grand Signior ſhould employ his good Offices with the Czar of *Muſcovy*, to induce him to reſtore to *Aſzraff* ſuch of his Conqueſts in *Perſia* as are inhabited by Muſſulmen; and that, in caſe of Need, his ſublime Highneſs ſhould employ his Forces for that End.

'Tis moreover to be obſerv'd, that *Aſzraff* propos'd much the ſame Terms to the *Porte* in 1725. but they were then haughtily rejected.

Thus ended that War betwixt the *Turks* and *Perſians*, which, whether it was properly a religious War, as ſome think, or whether purely Political, and for the ſake of Territory, which is left to the judicious Reader, coſt the *Turks* near half a Million of Lives, including thoſe that fell in the Field by Sickneſs, as well as by the Sword, beſides above 40 Millions of Sultaninas of Gold advanc'd for moſt part by the *Jews* and *Greeks*; and 'tis aſſur'd on the other Hand, that the *Perſians* loſt above half a Million of Men, maſſacred by the *Ottomans*, when they took ſuch Places Sword in Hand as made any Reſiſtance.

The next Year, *viz.* 1728. a new Candidate ſtarted up for the Throne of *Perſia*, who claimed the Succeſſion as Brother and Heir to that famous Uſurper and Tyrant *Myr-Weis*. This Pretender, like his Brother, was Haughty, Cruel, Avaritious, Diſſolute, and had all the ill Qualities that make up the Character of a conſummate Tyrant. He had already ſlain by the Sword, or otherwiſe, a great many Perſons who were ſo couragious as to reſiſt him; and at the ſame Time plunder'd their Houſes and carry'd off their Wives and Daughters: Upon advice alſo that Prince *Thamas*, the old *Sophi*'s Son, was arriv'd at *Meſchet* with 20000 Men, he was ſo enrag'd that he put to Death ſome Children whom he kept as Hoſtages. *Aſzraff*'s Life-Guards at *Iſpahân* were ſo inſolent and licentious at the ſame Time, that there was no Kind of Diſorders but what they daily committed, not only with Impunity, but with their Maſter's Countenance, inſomuch that they hang'd their Commander for refuſing their Pay before he had received it. The Merchants, eſpecially the *Europeans*, were oblig'd from Time to Time to ranſom themſelves, and if they were not able to make prompt Payment, either their Goods and Effects were confiſcated, or their Houſes plunder'd; ſo that when the *Engliſh* had gone a great way in reſtoring their Factors, and got a Guard to ſecure their Warehouſe of Goods, yet the ſame was plunder'd, and the Factor oblig'd to fly with what he could ſave to *Gambroon*.

The Reader will naturally imagine the diſtracted State of *Perſia* at this Juncture, when the Kingdom was thus harraſs'd by three contending Parties, *viz.* that of *Aſzraff*, that of *Myr-Weis*'s Brother, and that of Prince *Thamas*, It happen'd that at the beginning of this Year, *Aſzraff* received News of the Defeat of 4000 of his Men by the *Ruſſians* about *Rodoſek* and *Temſchin*, which ſo alarm'd him, that, fearing the Conſequences, he declar'd, by Expreſs to M. *Leweskow*, Governor of *Ghilan*, that *Wekil*, Cham of *Casbin*, who commanded the ſaid 4000 Men, had no Orders to attack the *Ruſſians*, but only to obſerve them, and that he would puniſh the Guilty. Accordingly he ſent for the ſaid *Wekil* and *Oſchan Mahomet*, to anſwer for their Conduct; but whilſt they were upon the Road, with a Guard of 100 Men, *Aſzraff* order'd them to be attack'd between *Caſbin* and *Caſchan* by the *Kotcheves* of *Chabeſquet*, who are valiant Soldiers, and entirely devoted to him, in which Aſſault *Mahomet* was kill'd upon the Spot, and *Wekil* made Priſoner, whom the *Kotſcheves* afterwards bound and ſent to *Iſpahan*; but the latter having found Means to gain ſome of the Soldiers, made his Eſcape, upon which *Aſzraff*, tho' it was perhaps only to blind the *Ruſſians*, ſeem'd to be very much incens'd, and ſwore that he would revenge it. *Aſzraff*'s Party was ſo leſſen'd by this Time, that rather than go to War with the *Ruſſians*, he was willing to yield them *Dagheſtan*, and to ſettle the Limits with them, on Condition that they would not enter into a Treaty with Prince *Thamas*, nor give him any Aſſiſtance.

In *July* the Year following, *viz.* 1729. an Ambaſſador arriv'd at *Conſtantinople* from the Sultan *Aſzraff*, with a Retinue of 700 Perſons, and as he croſs'd the Canal of the *Black Sea* he was ſaluted with the Diſcharge of 150 Pieces from the Seraglio, the Arſenal, and the Men of War and Galleys. It appear'd that all the Buſineſs he came about was to deliver a Letter to the Grand Signior, becauſe after he received an Anſwer to it, he ſet out for *Iſpahan*, much pleas'd with the Honour he had receiv'd at the *Porte*; but he ſtay'd long enough to be a Spectator of a terrible Fire which happen'd at *Conſtantinople* on the 27th of *July*, when, in leſs than ten Hours, 12000 Houſes were reduc'd to Aſhes, beſides ſeveral Moſques and other publick Edifices, and a great Number of People periſh'd in the Conflagration, tho' all poſſible Means were us'd to ſtop the Violence of the Flames.

This Year a Treaty of perpetual Peace and Friendſhip was concluded betwixt *Aſzraff* and *Peter* II. the Czar of *Muſcovy*, which was confirm'd by the Sultan's Brother-in-law, who came to *Moſcow*, for that Purpoſe, at the Head of an Embaſſy, with 100 Men and 140 Horſes in his Retinue, and Preſents of fine Horſes, Sattins, Brocades, *&c.*

By this Treaty, which was ſign'd at *Riaſ-coſche*, in the Province of *Ghilan*, the 13th of *February*; the Czar conſented that *Perſia* ſhould remain in Poſſeſſion of the Provinces of *Aſtrabat* and *Mazandran*; but that if thoſe Provinces ſhould happen to be given to any other Power, and to be recover'd by the *Ruſſians*, the ſame ſhould for ever remain under their Dominion, and the Treaty was to be declared void. The Czar was to keep all his Conqueſts upon the *Caſpian-Sea*, and the Territories of the *Ruſſian* Crown in *Perſia* were to extend from *Derbent* to the River *Araxes*. The Ambaſſadors and Envoys of both Powers were to be treated with due Honours, and a free Trade was to be promoted between both Nations upon paying the cuſtomary Duties for their Merchandize; with full Liberty for erecting the neceſſary Houſes and Warehouſes, and for the Paſſage of the Caravans on both Sides.

Not long after this, Prince *Thamas* advanc'd with a gallant Army towards *Iſpahan*, while another, ſent by the Great *Mogul*, march'd into *Perſia*, which oblig'd *Aſzraff*, who was univerſally hated by the People on account of his Cruelties, to divide his Forces.

This very Year, the following Letter appear'd from Prince *Thamas* to the Grand Signior, ſent to *Conſtantinople* by Signior *Effendi*, an able and truſty Miniſter, who had been diſpatch'd for ſome Months paſt to *Van*, a City of *Georgia*, one of the *Perſian* Provinces, to inquire into the State of Affairs there. Some People, I remember, look'd upon the Letter as a Forgery, becauſe it does not begin in the Oriental Stile, with the Praiſe and Invocation of God; but others ſuppos'd that the *Perſian* Prince had employ'd a Jeſuit, or ſome other *European*, for his Secretary. Whether it be genuine or not, we think it worth inſerting.

" It is very ſurpriſing that your Highneſs, in Violation of the uninterrupted " Friendſhip between the Anceſtors of my " Family and Yours, (upon account of which " Friendſhip you ought to ſuccour the Friends " of your Friends) ſhould enter into a League " againſt us in Favour of a Perſon unknown, " and a Traitor to his Sovereign. This Con" duct is contrary not only to the Laws of Na" ture, but alſo to thoſe of God; for it is at" tacking God himſelf to lift up one's Hand " againſt Perſons that are Sacred. I am at " this Day true and lawful Heir to the Fa" mily of the Kings of *Perſia*. I am the " Son of King *Huſſein*, and by the particu" lar Providence of God I eſcap'd being " murder'd with the King my Father, and " almoſt the whole Royal Family. I am " making all poſſible Efforts to recover the

" Dominion of my Anceſtors, and to pluck " the Throne from under the Feet of the " Uſurper that has invaded it : And as my " Cauſe is Juſt and Praiſe-worthy, I do not " in the leaſt doubt but God will aſſiſt me, " for they are his Battles that I fight, and " he being the Defender of the Oppreſſed, " will give new Strength to thoſe that take " my Part, ſo that the Wicked ſhall be " puniſh'd according to his Demerit. After " me, there are other Princes of my Family " to whom the Crown of *Perſia* ought to " deſeend ſucceſſively. Your Highneſs can- " not be ignorant that I have yet Subjects " enough left, of Fidelity and Courage ſuffi- " cient to reſtore me to my Patrimony : And " you may be perſuaded that the Princes of " my Blood are held in ſuch Veneration " among them, that they think it their Duty " to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in " their Service. Wherefore I leave it to " your Highneſs to conſider, whether 'tis a " truer Argument of Greatneſs of Soul, to " ſuccour an oppreſſed Prince, who is lawful " Heir to the Throne that has been poſſeſs'd " by Kings that were Friends and Allies to " the *Ottoman* Race, than to enter into a " League againſt him with a Tiger, a Mon- " ſter not known in the World, but for his " Perfidiouſneſs and Outrages, which will " render him the Deteſtation of future Ages.

“ If your Highneſs will not recognize the juſtice
“ of my Claim, be Neuter, at leaſt, in
“ this Diſpute ; for notwithſtanding all that
“ I have heard, I can never be perſuaded
“ that your Highneſs can act againſt my Intereſt,
“ in Favour of *Aſzraff*, who is known
“ to you only for Actions which ought to
“ make you abhor and deteſt him.”

The next Year, *viz.* 1730. Prince *Thamas* obtain’d a great Victory over Sultan *Aſzraff*, and oblig’d him to quit *Iſpahan*, of which he took Poſſeſſion, as well as of ſeveral other Towns, and *Aſzraff* finding himſelf abandon’d, was ſo much dejected, that he fell ſick.

Mean time Prince *Thamas*, after the Reduction of the Capital City, was proclaim’d King and Emperor of *Perſia*, and in *November* made his publick Entry into *Iſpahan*, amidſt the Acclamations of an infinite Concourſe of People, who had got together from all Parts to ſee their new Sovereign ; he enter’d at the Head of Part of his Army, commanded by his Couli Kan, or Colonel General, after being receiv’d without the Town by all the Grandees of the Kingdom, and conducted to the Palace of his Predeceſſors, where he receiv’d the Homage of his new Subjects. Some Days after his Entry, that Prince ſent Couli Kan with 40000 Men, to hinder Sultan *Aſzraff*, who was fled towards *Schiras*, from retreating into the Province of *Candahar*, his own Country. Prince *Thamas's* Army was conſiderably augmented, not only by the *Perſians*, who had all abandon'd Sultan *Aſzraff*, but alſo by the Foreign Troops of ſeveral Nations which were in his Pay: And being furniſh'd by the *Armenians* of *Julpha*, and particularly the *Jews*, with Sums of Money ſufficient to enable him to recover the Places diſmember'd from his Monarchy, he went and laid Siege to the Town of *Schiras* with an Army of 50000 Men.

One of his Lieutenant Generals having in the mean Time apprehended *Aſzraff* on the Frontiers of *Georgia*, Prince *Thamas*, in order to intimidate the Garriſon, which he found obſtinately reſolv'd to make a vigorous Reſiſtance, erected a Scaffold near enough to be ſeen by the Inhabitants, on which he cauſed *Aſzraff's* Skin, while he was alive, to be torn with Curry-Combs, and then had his Head lopp'd off and ſtuck upon a Pike. But the Garriſon ſtill refuſing to ſurrender, notwithſtanding the Death of their Protector, Prince *Thamas* gave the Town a general Storm, in a manner ſo furious and well executed, that his Troops made themſelves Maſters of it, and put the whole Garriſon to the Sword.

After the Conqueſt of *Schiras*, the other Towns that were in Poſſeſſion of the Rebels ſubmitted to Prince *Thamas*, ſo that the *Anguſians*, the moſt warlike People of all *Perſia*, who took Part with *Myri-Weis*, and afterwards with *Aſzraff*, were totally deſtroy'd or diſperſed.

After this, the Sophi *Thamas* beſieg'd *Tauris*, and receiving Intelligence that a great Body of *Turks* were on their March to relieve it, he poſted himſelf in an advantagious Place, and attack'd them with ſo much Conduct and Bravery, that he obtain'd a compleat Victory.

In 1731 the Sophi, whoſe Army was augmented to 140,000 Men, laid Siege to *Erivan*, and receiving Intelligence that 50000 *Turks*, moſt of them Horſe, were advanc'd within twenty Leagues of that Place in order to raiſe the Siege, he left a ſufficient Number of Troops to carry it on, and march'd with the reſt to meet the *Ottoman* Army, which he attack'd with ſuch Vigour, that after a bloody Fight, the *Turks*, already fatigu'd with their long March, were oblig'd to retire in Diſorder, with the Loſs of above 16000 Men kill'd on the Spot; beſides twenty Pieces of Cannon taken, and all their Baggage. The Battle laſted till Night, which was ſaid to be the Reaſon that the *Perſians* took but 2000 Priſoners. After this Action the Sophi *Tha-*

mas, having rejoin'd his Army before *Erivan*, ſummon'd the Governor to ſurrender in three Days, threatning in caſe of Refuſal to put him and his Garriſon to the Sword.

But about this Time a bloody Battle was fought between the *Turks* and *Perſians* near *Hamadan*, in which a great Number of Men fell on both Sides, and the *Turks* remain'd Maſters of the Field. This determin'd Sophi *Thamas* to ſue for Peace, and in the mean while he propos'd a Ceſſation of Arms; which being readily granted, publick Rejoycings were made upon it for three Days ſucceſſively at *Conſtantinople*; and the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, who had been kept in Priſon there for ſeveral Months, was ſet at Liberty.

The Treaty which enſued upon it was attended with no leſs than the Depoſition and Baniſhment of the King of *Perſia*, by the General of the *Perſian* Forces; a Revolution ſo ſurpriſing in all its Circumſtances, that it would hardly gain Credit were it not for the following authentick Account of it, tranſmitted from the Court of *Ruſſia* to their Miniſter in *London*.

" In the Year 1731. a Treaty of Peace
" was concluded between Sophi *Thamas* of
" *Perſia*, and the *Ottoman Porte*, being
" brought about by the Contrivance of their
" reſpective Plenipotentiaries. By this Treaty
" the *Turks* did actually ſurrender up to the

Sophi, Part of their Conqueſts in Perſia, as far as the River *Arax*, reſerving to themſelves the beſt Provinces and Towns of *Perſia*, even beyond the ſaid River, and tho' this Treaty proved altogether diſadvantageous to the Sophi, yet, according to their Stipulations, he found himſelf oblig'd to ratify it.

“ Some Time before this Treaty was in Agitation, *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, Generaliſſimo of all the Forces in *Perſia*, a Man of great Authority and Power over the Sophi and People, had been oblig'd to march, with Part of the *Perſian* Troops, to the very Borders of *India*, to quell a Rebellion that the Subjects of *Kandahar* and *Giratt*, call'd *Agrans*, had form'd againſt their Sovereign, who met at firſt with great Reſiſtance from the Rebels, tho' afterwards he oblig'd them to ſubmit; and having totally defeated them, and baniſh'd all their Leaders into another Country, got at laſt a peaceable Poſſeſſion of the famous City of *Giratt*, and of all the Dependencies thereof; and having eſtabliſhed new Governors both in that and other Cities, and pacify'd the whole Province, he left it laſt Spring, in order to return to *Iſpahan*, to wait upon the Sophi.

“ It was in his Way home that he received the News that a Peace was concluded

“ cluded between the *Ottoman Porte* and his
“ Maſter, and being farther informed upon
“ what Conditions the Treaty was agreed to,
“ he very much reſented it, and without
“ giving Notice to the Sophi, having an irreconcilable Enmity againſt the *Turks*, he
“ immediately publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, in
“ which he aſſumed the Title of Lieutenant
“ of the Kingdom, and declared to all his
“ Countrymen, that the Treaty lately concluded with the *Turks* was very detrimental to the *Perſian* Kingdom, by giving up
“ to the Enemy the beſt of their Provinces,
“ and not inſiſting upon the Liberty of the
“ *Perſian* Priſoners in the Hands of the
“ *Turks*, ſo contrary to the Laws of God
“ and all Nations, and ſo derogatory to the
“ Intereſt and Honour of the *Perſian* Monarchy.

“ And for that Reaſon, *I* Tachmas Kouly
“ Kan (adds he in his *Manifeſto*) *am going in*
“ *Perſon with a numerous Army againſt our*
“ *Enemies the* Turks, *in order to regain our*
“ *Provinces ſo ſhamefully given up to them*,
“ *and to procure to the* Perſian *Priſoners their*
“ *Liberty*. And therefore he orders in the
“ ſaid *Manifeſto*, that all the Subjects of the
“ Kingdom do take up Arms againſt their
“ Enemies the *Turks*, in order to avenge the
“ Cauſe of their Country; and in caſe any
“ Man ſhould either oppoſe or contradict his

“ ſaid Orders, he licenſes all Perſons to kill “ ſuch Oppoſer, of what Condition ſoever “ he be, and to ſeize all his Effects.

“ Not long after, the *Ruſſian* Court re- “ ceived an Expreſs from General *Levaſhol*, “ who commands in chief the *Ruſſian* Troops “ in *Perſia*, with the News, that the ſaid “ *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, attended with 30000 “ choſen Men, arrived on the 15th of *Au-* “ *guſt* laſt, O. S. at *Iſpahan*, (where the So- “ phi was with his whole Court) and in- “ camp'd himſelf before the ſaid City in one “ of the Sophi's Gardens; and three Days “ after his Arrival waited on the Sophi (who “ received him but coolly) and on his Re- “ turn from Court, he put many of the So- “ phi's Domeſticks under Arreſt.

“ On the 21ſt of the ſame Month the So- “ phi went, in Perſon, out of the City to “ viſit *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, who receiv'd his “ Majeſty, at the Head of his commanding “ Officers, with all the Reſpect due to his “ Royal Perſon; and having conducted him “ to his Tent, deſired his Majeſty to ſit “ down, and waited on him there as a Slave “ does upon his Maſter. The Sophi asked “ the General what Reaſon he had to put hi “ Domeſticks under Arreſt? To which *Tach-* “ *mas Kouly Kan* replied, with a haught “ Air, *Becauſe your Majeſty has no need o* “ *ſuch Perſons, who are only kept in Lazineſ*

“ A

“ At which the Sophi being very much offended, got up to go home; but the General ſtopt him, deſiring his Majeſty to give him Leave to ſpeak a Word to him in private; and with that conducted him to the adjoining Houſe, where he kept him all that Night.

“ The next Day, being the 22d of *Auguſt*, the General went into his Tent, and aſſembled all the Officers of his Army, and being ſeated, made the following Declaration to them.

“ *That the Sophi was altogether unfit to govern the Kingdom, and had by his evil Conduct brought an Infamy upon their Country, and by his imprudent Directions, loſt a great Number of* Perſians: *That hitherto they had been obliged to bear all this, for want of a Succeſſor to the Crown; but now,* ſays he, *ſince the ſaid Sophi has a Son three Months old, named* Abas, *I think it proper to ſettle the Crown upon him, the Father having rendered himſelf totally unworthy of it; and I promiſe to be as faithful to the Son as I have been hitherto to his Father, whom I think it expedient to keep from this Time under a ſtrong Guard, allowing him, during Life, a ſufficient Maintenance.*

“ Upon this there was, for a while, great Silence amongſt the Officers; but at laſt, ſome of them having approved his Declaration,

“ ration, the General immediately gave Or-
“ ders to bring him the Feather (a Royal
“ Mark of Authority) from the Sophi's Head,
“ which being done, he kiſs'd it, and laid
“ it down by his Side. The General then
“ ſent for the Sophi's Wife, and the Prince
“ her Son, who were both publickly con-
“ ducted before the Army (the Mother be-
“ ing covered) to the aforeſaid Tent; ſoon
“ after which ſhe was re-conducted again
“ to the Palace, and a little Time after,
“ the Prince her Son was ſent back to
“ her, with the Turbant and the Royal Fea-
“ ther on his Head. Then the General or-
“ dered a new Coin to be ſtruck, and new
“ Seals to be made, bearing the young King's
“ Name, Sophi Abas. In the mean Time
“ all the old Miniſters and other Perſons of
“ Diſtinction, who were of the depoſed
“ King's Party, were put under Arreſt, and
“ baniſh'd to the Province of *Chorazan*, to
“ which Place alſo the dethroned Sophi was
“ ſent on the 25th of *Auguſt* laſt, under a
“ Guard of 1,500 Men.

“ The 26th *Tachmas Kouly Kan* was mar-
“ ried to a Siſter of Shach *Kuſeins*, the
“ Widow of *Mirza Dawdan*, who has a
“ Son twelve Years old.

“ On the 28th *Tachmas Kouly Kan* entred
“ with all his Army into the City of *Iſpa-*
“ *han*, and took up his Lodgings in the

" Royal Palace; and the ſame Day he ordered a magnificent Cradle to be ſet up in the Chamber nam'd *Kell-Sultan*, in which the new Infant King was laid, and at the Side of the Cradle was put the Turbant, the Royal Feather, and a Sabre. Then *Tachmas Kouly Kan* aſſembled the *Mullas* and *Seides*, and went to Prayers in the Preſence of all the Officers of the Army, after which they congratulated the Sophi upon his Acceſſion to the Throne; and the Ceremony was cloſed with a cold Collation.

" Upon this Occaſion *Tachmas Kouly Kan* honour'd many of the Quality, in the Name of Sophi *Abas*, with an Halaat (or Robe of Honour) and cauſed a Proclamation to be iſſued out, that for the future they ſhall give no other Title to Sophi *Thamas*, than that of *Tachmas Mirza.*

" When the General went into the Sophi's Palace, he found a Treaſure of many Millions, which was hoarded up by Sophi *Abas* the Firſt.

" This whole Account has been confirmed from *Conſtantinople* by the Report of M. *Nepluef*, Reſident from *Ruſſia*, who gave farther Notice to the Court, that *Achmed Baſſaw*, Governor of *Babylon*, had given the ſame Account of this Revolution to the *Ottoman Porte*: And M. *Nepluef* adds,

“ That *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, ſince the Depoſition of Sophi *Thamas*, and the Elevation of his Son, Sophi *Abas*, to the Throne, governs the whole Kingdom of *Perſia*, deſpotically and makes vaſt Preparations of War againſt the *Turks*; as alſo that the *Ottoman Porte* are as vigorous in their Preparations to oppoſe his Deſigns.

“ General *Levaſhol*, who was at that Time with Part of the *Ruſſian* Army in *Perſia*, in the Province of *Ghilan*, had, in the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, (purſuant to the Articles of Peace concluded between the Imperial Crown of *Ruſſia* and Sophi *Thamas*) ſurrendred the ſaid Province, and the reſt of the Places ſituated beyond the River *Kura*; to the Kingdom of *Perſia*, after which he croſſed the River with his Army, and incamped in the Province of *Shirvan*, which formerly belonged to the *Perſians*, but is now given up to the *Ruſſian* Empire, by the late Treaty concluded between the two Powers, and appointed the head Quarters in the City of *Derbent*, where he received an Expreſs from *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, with a written Account of the Depoſition of Sophi *Thamas*, and the Elevation of his Son Sophi *Abas* to the Throne, in which that General aſſures him, that he will keep inviolably all the Conditions ſtipulated in the Treaties lately

“ concluded between the Empire of *Ruſſia*
“ and the Kingdom of *Perſia*, and that the
“ King his Maſter is upon the Point of ſend-
“ ing a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Court of her
“ Imperial Majeſty, to notify his Acceſſion
“ to the Crown of *Perſia*.”

Kouli Kan, having thus ſettled Matters at Home, marched with all Speed to lay Siege to *Babylon*, before the *Turks* could aſſemble their Army to relieve it. The Taking of *Erivan* by Surpriſe, which happened about this Time, had put the latter in Motion, as it gave them to underſtand that they were not to depend on the Ceſſation concluded with Sophi *Thamas*, who was now no longer in Authority. *Erivan* is a very conſiderable City in *Armenia*, that has been alternately in the Hands of the *Turks* and *Perſians*. The ſame Fate had formerly attended *Babylon*, or more properly *Bagdat* (the true *Babylon* having long been no more) a City in *Meſopotamia*, about ſeven Degrees South of the other, but which had been finally carried by the *Turks* in 1638.

The *Perſian* General was employing his Strength againſt this City, when the Seraſquier of the *Ottoman* Army in *Perſia*, knowing the Importance of the Place, and how little able he was to give it Succour, offered, in the Name of his Court, a Suſpenſion of Arms for ſix Months, in order to treat of a laſting

Peace between the two Empires: But *Kouli Kan* abſolutely rejected the Propoſal, except on Condition that the *Porte* ſhould firſt reſtore certain Places, which had been yielded to it in the laſt Peace with Sophi *Thamas*. In a Word, he proſecuted the Siege with all imaginable Vigour, and defeated the Forces that were from Time to Time ſent againſt him.

It was confidently given out at this Time by the *Turks*, that all Things in *Perſia* were in Confuſion: That ſeveral of the great Men of that Kingdom, and in particular the Governors of *Ormus* and *Bender-Aſſi*, had entered into a League againſt the Uſurper *Kouli Kan*, which muſt unavoidably terminate in a Civil War. This, no doubt, was what the *Porte* had long wiſhed for, and attempted to foment; but the *Perſian* General appeared as much ſuperior to the Divan in Politicks, as he was to their Baſhaws in the Field: He not only ſupported himſelf againſt Foreign Intrigues and Domeſtick Conſpiracies, but daily rendered himſelf more formidable Abroad and powerful at Home. The Year 1733, though attended with ſome Diſappointments, afforded in the main ſuch a Series of Victory and Succeſs, that Fortune is ſeldom found more propitious. It was crowned by the Defeat of a numerous Army of *Turks*, commanded by *Topal Oſman*, an experienced Officer, who loſt his Life in the Action, together with 50,000 of his Followers.

It was near the Middle of the Summer this Year, before the *Turks* could bring together an Army upon the Frontiers of *Perſia*, ſufficient to oppoſe that of *Kouli Kan*. At laſt, however, having aſſembled a great Body of Forces under *Topal Oſman*, they approached towards *Bagdat*, in order to raiſe the Siege of that Place. Upon the 19th of *July*, they came to an Engagement, in which the *Ottomans* ſeem to have gained ſome Advantage, which was magnified at *Conſtantinople* in the moſt extraordinary Manner; but how juſtly, the Conſequence ſoon made apparent.

The Effect of this Action, was the Raiſing, for the preſent, the Blockade of *Bagdat*. The Governor of that Place, *Achmet* Baſhaw, who was reduced to the laſt Extremity for want of Proviſions, receiving the News of this Victory, ſallied out upon the few Troops that were left in the Trenches, put them to the Sword, and carried the Proviſions of the *Perſian* Camp into his Garriſon. All the Language of the *Porte* was now Victory and Triumph, and the common People were ſure of a ſpeedy Peace, upon their own Terms. But the Battle of *Kerkoud*, in which *Topal Oſman* fell, put a Stop to all theſe Exultations.

The *Perſian* General being joined by a freſh Body of 40,000 Men, returned towards *Bagdat*, and on the 22d of *October* there was ſaid to have happened a freſh Rencounter, of which we had no Advices, but from *Conſtantinople*, and thoſe run in the ſame Strain as the former, *viz.* That *Kouli Kan* was routed, and had fled five Miles from *Kerkoud*, where the Action was, with the Loſs of 6000 Men, among whom were his Father-in-Law and Nephew, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction. The *Turkiſh* Letters added, that the Day after the Battle, *Topal Oſman* marched with his Army to block up that of *Kouli Kan*, in the Mountains of *Ceylan*: That in this Extremity the *Perſian* General had writ to the Seraſkier *Topal Oſman*, deſiring Peace upon any Terms; to which the *Turk* anſwered, that he would not treat with a Rebel; ſo that they hourly expected to hear of *Kouli Kan*'s being taken Priſoner. All this News was proclaimed to the People at *Conſtantinople*, by repeated Salvoes of the Cannon of the Seraglio, the *Seven Towers*, and the Sultanas, or Men of War lying in the Harbour; and great Rejoicings were made through the whole City for ſeveral Days ſucceſſively. Whether there was any ſuch Action as now pretended, at *Kerkoud*, before the deciſive Battle there, we are not certain: But admitting there was, it is incredible that the *Turks* ſhould have obtained ſuch

Advantages as they arrogated to themſelves, and yet have had their Rejoicings put a Stop to by the mortifying News which came juſt upon the Back of the other. Could *Kouli Kan*, gallant as he is, has thus turned the Scale in ſo ſhort a Time, after ſuffering a Defeat? Had we not better depend only on the following Account?

Thamas Kouli Kan, having formed to himſelf a Stratagem for alluring the *Turkiſh* Army out of their ſtrong Camp near *Kerkoud*, in order that he might find Means to draw them into a Snare; he, for this End, ſent a Body of 12,000 Men, to reconnoitre, as was pretended, the Enemy's Situation. This Detachment advanced ſo near the *Turkiſh* Camp, that a great Body of *Turks* was ſent out to attack them: Whereupon the *Perſians* retired, till they came to a narrow Paſs, where they had ſtrong Intrenchments. But in this Retreat, Care was taken to drop ſome Letters, as wrote from one *Perſian* Prince to another, giving a moſt melancholy Account of the *Perſian* Army, particularly of the great Diſſentions that were among them, and intimating great Apprehenſions, that if the *Turks* ſhould attack them before a good Harmony was reſtored among their Troops, they might obtain an eaſy Victory. The great Body of *Turks*, who purſued theſe 12,000 *Perſians*, could not attack them in the ſtrong Intrenchments they had poſſeſſed, but endeavoured to block them up in the narrow Defiles of the Mountains, imagining that they ſhould ſoon be able to reduce them by Famine: So that this Party of *Turks*, which conſiſted of 20,000 Men, under the Command of *Mehemet* Baſhaw of *Dierbeck*, did not return to *Kerkoud*, where the reſt of their Army lay intrenched, but remained in the Mountains of *Ceylan*, in order, as they hoped, to make the 12,000 *Perſians* Priſoners.

In the mean time, the Letters ſuppoſed to have been taken from the Enemy, were ſent to *Topal Oſman*, who too eaſily gave credit to what he found written in them, and in Confidence of the Truth of their Contents, marched from his ſtrong Camp at *Kerkoud*, to go and join *Mehemet*, that they might in conjunction find out the *Perſian* Army, over which he now flattered himſelf with a ſure and eaſy Victory. But as ſoon as *Kouli Kan* found that his Stratagem had taken effect, he immediately advanced, and came up with the Groſs of the *Turkiſh* Army under *Topal Oſman*, before it could join *Mehemet*'s Detachment; whereupon a general and furious Engagement inſtantly commenced between the two Armies. The Left-Wing of the *Perſians*, commanded by *Kouli Kan* in Perſon, met with a ſtout Reſiſtance from the Right-Wing of the *Turks*, where was the Flower of their Troops, animated by the Preſence of *Topal Oſman*. That brave Commander, with his whole Wing, ſtood the general Shock for three Hours together; and the *Janizaries*, though puſhed and forced to give Ground ſix ſeveral Times, did yet as often rally, and return to the Charge: So that there were upwards of 17,000 Men killed on both Sides, and almoſt with equal Loſs, before the *Perſian* Horſe, in which their principal Strength always lies, could break in. At laſt the *Janizaries* were overpowered, and when the *Perſian* Horſe got in among them, they made a moſt terrible Havock. Then the Cavalry of the *Perſians* Left-Wing, ſupported by a Body of 20,000 Foot, fell upon the Center of the *Turkiſh* Army, which made but a poor Defence, there being above 10,000 of them killed upon the Field of Battle, with the Loſs only of 7 or 800 *Perſians*. The Right-Wing of the latter had hitherto made no great Efforts; but their whole Army now falling with all its Weight upon the Left-Wing of the *Turks*, that Wing, after a bloody Conteſt for an Hour and a Quarter, was obliged like the reſt to give Way, and ſuffer a total Rout. So that the Day ended with a compleat Victory to the *Perſians*, who became Maſters of the *Turkiſh* Camp, which was full of magnificent Tents, ſtately Horſes and Camels, a great Quantity of Arms, rich Stuffs, Money, and Proviſions; all which became the Booty of the Victors.

The brave *Topal Oſman*, old and decrepid as he then was, finding that his Troops gave ground, quitted the Litter in which he was uſually carried, and mounting on Horſeback, threw himſelf in the Front of the greateſt Danger, till at laſt he fell, overcome with Age, Infirmities, and glorious Wounds. And *Kouli Kan*, who would not be out-done by his Rival in the Purſuit of Honour, appeared every where to encourage his Troops, and had no leſs than five Horſes killed under him in the Engagement. He was beſides wounded in both his Arms, which he would not permit to be dreſſed, till the Toils of the Day were over, and his Labours were crowned with Victory. The *Turks* would have had it believed, that they loſt but 8 or 10,000 Men in this Action: But Accounts more to be relied on, confirm the before-mentioned Number of 50,000, killed or wounded; among which were nine Baſhaws, or General Officers. And indeed the *Perſians* paid dearly for this Victory, having about 30,000 Men killed and wounded, of whom three were Generals.

Mehemet, Baſhaw of *Dierbeck*, with the Detachment under his Command, found Means to get back to the ſtrong Camp at *Kerkoul*, where he endeavoured to re-aſſemble the ſcattered Remains of the unfortunate *Ottoman* Army, and from whence he ſent an Account of this Action to the *Porte*. In the mean Time *Kouli Kan*, who yet kept on the Maſk of Subjection, ſent the following Letter to the young Sophi.

"IMMORTAL Glory to the One Almighty God, and everlaſting Honour "to his great Prophet *Ali*, who is adoring "the Eternal God in his Preſence to all E"ternity!

"Invincible Emperor of all Kings, Princes, "and Sovereigns of the rich and magnificent "*Eaſt*, my true and only Maſter under Al"mighty God, I wiſh the Mouth of Truth "of the Holy Prophet, and the Protection of "his Arms, may accompany you always, "during the whole Courſe of your glorious "Life!

"May your Imperial Sublimeneſs be pleaſ"ed to receive with Joy the News of "the victorious Exploits of your Troops! "Your Army, which I command with "the abſolute Authority you conferred "upon me, being conducted by the Thun"der and Fire of the Almighty, has defeat"ed and humbled the Power of your Ene"mies, and eſtabliſhed your Throne upon "Foundations of Braſs. The Courage of "your Troops, and particularly of your in"vincible Cavalry, has deſtroyed them: "Their Flight, like that of reeling Drun"kards, has covered them with Shame and

“ Confuſion, and the Edge of the Sword has
“ filled the whole Field of Battle with their
“ dead Bodies.

“ The brave and truſty *Erkeas Schevy*
“ brings your Imperial Sublimeneſs the Particulars
“ of our Battle, while I am purſuing
“ the Remains of the vile Fugitives, to the
“ immortal Honour of your Name and your
“ Empire.”

After this Battle *Kouli Kan* returned to the Blockade of *Bagdat*, not having it in his Power to form a regular Siege, for want of heavy Artillery, which it is impoſſible to bring thro' the mountainous Deſarts that lie between *Perſia* and *Turkey*. He remained here ſo much Maſter of the Field, that the *Turkiſh* Army durſt not make Head againſt his Camp, tho' himſelf was forced, ſoon after the Battle of *Kerkoud*, to return to *Iſpahan*, and to march from thence into the Province of *Schiras*, in order to reduce a rebellious Kan, named *Bellongo*, which he did in a few Days after his Arrival.

This General's noble Behaviour, after his Victory over the *Turks*, obtained him more Honour than the Victory itſelf. He ſet at Liberty all the Priſoners, and made an Offer of Peace to the *Porte*, on Terms which were ſaid to be not unreaſonable. About the ſame Time his Secretary, in order to raiſe a Sum of Money that was wanted, having propoſed to ſet to Sale all the Poſts in the Government and Army, *Kouli Kan* replied with a noble Reſentment: “ Employments are the Reward of Virtue: Your Councils therefore tend to rob honeſt Men of their Rewards, and myſelf of the Honour of beſtowing them where due: In either Caſe you merit Death.” Accordingly he commanded him immediately to be put into a Sack, and thrown into the River.

But tho' the Propoſals made by *Kouli Kan* occaſioned him to be applauded for his Moderation, it is certain they were not reliſhed by the *Turks*, who did not yet think themſelves obliged to ſubmit to an Enemy's Terms. They prepared to renew the War with the utmoſt Vigour, in order to extort from him Conditions yet more favourable to themſelves. Their Obſtinacy however did them no Service; for on the 28th of *February* 1734, *Kouli Kan*'s Army intirely defeated 45,000 *Turks*, who came to relieve *Bagdat*. Twenty Thouſand were killed on the Spot, and the reſt got into the Town, which remained cloſe blocked up. This Action, which was very bloody on both Sides, coſt the *Perſians* 10,000 Men. It was followed by another ſoon after, between *Tauris* and *Erivan*, which ended alſo in Favour of the *Perſians*, and in the Death of *Abdullah Kuprogli*, the *Turkiſh* General.

Kouli Kan's abſolute Management of Affairs, notwithſtanding his Pretenſions, made it more than ſuſpected that he aimed at making himſelf Maſter of *Perſia*. In order to ſilence any Report of this Nature, he about this Time had the depoſed Sophi brought from *Michet* to *Casbin*, as tho' he intended to reſtore him to his Authority: But the moſt quick-ſighted Politicians could ſee thro' this, that it was only an artful Piece of Management.

Still he preſſed on his Conqueſts, on the Side of *Turkey*, with ſuch ſurpriſing Rapidity, that the Czarina ſeemed to be apprehenſive of their Effects. Her Miniſters therefore, and thoſe of the Emperor, intimated to the Grand Vizier, that her Czarian Majeſty would interpoſe her good Offices to mediate a Peace with the *Perſian* General; upon Condition, however, that the *Turks* ſhould preſerve the Peace of *Chriſtendom*. But this Offer not having Effect, the *Ruſſian* Court ſoon after entered into a Negotiation with *Kouli Kan*, which ended in an Alliance, whereby the *Perſian* General engaged to aſſiſt either the *Ruſſians* or the Imperialiſts againſt the *Turks*, in caſe they were attacked by them, which was now apprehended. On this Conſideration, the Czarina gave up a Tract of Land on the

Caſpian-Sea: And ſome reported, that this Ceſſion included all that the Czar *Peter the Great* had taken from *Perſia*, the Fortreſs of *Terki* only excepted.

The Fame of *Kouli Kan*'s Exploits, the Similitude which his Name ſeemed to have with ſeveral Names in *Europe*, and eſpecially the great Regard which he was obſerved to ſhew the *European* Chriſtians, gave riſe to ſeveral Rumours at the Beginning of the Year 1735, concerning the native Country of this extraordinary Man. They all tended to make him a Chriſtian Renegado; but the Diſpute was, who ſhould have the Honour of claiming him for their own. *Ireland*, for ſome Time, ſeemed to bid faireſt; and we were formally told from thence, that he was born in that Kingdom, and that his real Name was *Thomas C'Allaghan*, being deſcended of an antient Family ſo called. It was further pretended, that he had an eminent Lawyer at *Dublin* his near Relation: That he left *Ireland* when a Child, and went to *France*, where he became a Monk, which gave Occaſion to a falſe Report that he was of that Kingdom: And to ſtrengthen all this it was added, that he was well known to be remarkably fond of *Iriſhmen*.

Whether all theſe Circumſtances were really believed by thoſe who promulged them, or were only a humorous Impoſition of ſome ſa-

ſatirical Wit, in order to ridicule the Credulity of Mankind, I will not determine. If the latter only, they were ſoon diſcredited again by the ſame Means, there being a Letter publiſhed in one of our Daily Papers, to the following Effect.

From Rica *at* Paris *to* Ali-beg *at* Iſpahan.

Dear Ali,

" A Ridiculous Story is current in this
" Country, which I would not mention to thee, if it had not Credit with a great many People. 'Tis given out, that the glorious and invincible *Thamas Kouli*, chief Kan and Vicar General of our ſublime Monarch, is an *European* by Extraction, and born of *Nazarene* Parents; not conſidering the Abſurdity and Self-contradiction of the Story; it being reported at the ſame Time, that he is a *Frenchman*, a *Flemming*, an *Engliſhman*, a *Scot*, an *Iriſhman*, and I know not what beſides.

" If there is but a Family in any Part of *Europe* with a Name like *Coulican*, (by which they murder the true Name of our victorious Regent) and eſpecially if of this Family there is one Vagabond ſtrolling Abroad, this is enough to make it immediately go down, that this Mr. *Somebody*,

" who was thought to be loſt, muſt be the
" famous Conqueror of the *Turks*, the trai-
" torous Race of the unworthy *Omar*. But
" how impertinent is this? ſo that I even bluſh
" while I am repeating it! Can the *Naza-*
" *renes*, who in other Reſpects are ſo know-
" ing, be ignorant that the Term *Kan*, which
" they make to be a Part of the Name of
" our great General, is only uſed to expreſs
" a Dignity very much like that of *Marſhal*;
" only the Marſhals have not, like our Kans,
" Troops in their own Pay? Are thoſe *Na-*
" *zarenes* ignorant, that, according to our
" Religion, no Foreigner, whether a Proſe-
" lyte or not, can be veſted with all the
" Authority and Power of our Sublime
" Sophi?"

If the Author of this Letter had read the foregoing Work, he would have found that *Kouli* was as much an aſſumed Title as *Kan*, and that it ſignifies *Slave*; and that even *Thamas* was no more a proper Name of this General than either of the others, but only of the Prince whom he ſerved: So that *Thamas Kouli Kan*, taken together, means only the *Kan who is Slave of Sophi Thamas*. This is confirmed by what has ſince happened, upon his Taking on him the Sovereignty, there being no more Mention of either of theſe Names in the Title he now bears.

Notwithſtanding the Alliance entered into by the *Perſian* General with *Ruſſia*, which declared that neither of them ſhould make Peace without the other, *Kouli Kan's* Ambition carried him too far in the Year 1736, for him not to deſire at preſent the Friendſhip of the *Turks*, who were the moſt capable of defeating the Projects he had formed. Nothing would now ſuffice him, after this long Series of Succeſs, but the Title, as well as the Power, of Schah or Sophi of *Perſia*. With this View he firſt gained the Grandees to his Intereſt, and then ſummoned an Aſſembly at *Iſpahan*, under Pretence of laying down his Poſt of General, in order to paſs the Remainder of his Days in Retirement and Tranquility: But care was taken to have Things ſo managed, that he was not only prayed to continue his glorious Toil, but even compelled to accept the Enſigns of Supreme Dignity. In which he was more fortunate than either *Cæſar* or *Cromwell*, who both of them expecting a like Compliment upon a like Pretence of Humility, had the Mortification to ſee that neither the *Romans* nor the *Britons* were ſo complaiſant as the ſlaviſh *Orientals*, who pay little leſs than Adoration to their Monarchs.

From this Time *Schah Nadir*, which was the Name he now aſſumed, appeared no longer active againſt the *Turks*, but ſoon after we had Advice that an Ambaſſador of his was arrived at *Conſtantinople*, to treat of a Peace, where he was highly careſſed. He gave out indeed at firſt, that he would enter into no Negotiations, without the Concurrence of *Ruſſia*, and pretended to make high Demands; beſides the acknowledging his Maſter Sophi of *Perſia*. But all this Buſtle was ſoon blown over, and the *Perſian* Ambaſſador at *Peterſburgh* informed the Czarina, before the End of the Year, *that his Maſter had not been able to attain the Admiſſion of her Czarian Majeſty, as one of the contracting Parties in a Treaty of Peace concluded between the* Turks *and* Perſians; *but that he had, however, ſo managed it, that the quiet Poſſeſſion of* Dagheſtan, *and other Provinces between the* Black *and the* Caſpian Seas, *ſhould be preſerved to her.* For which Articles the Czarina was no way obliged to his *Perſian* Majeſty, ſince the giving back theſe Provinces to the *Turkiſh* Empire, from which they had been diſmembered, would have been contrary to his own Intereſt.

The Articles of the Peace concluded between the two *Mahometan* Empires, were, “ 1. That the Sultan ſhould acknowledge *Schah Nadir* for lawful Sovereign of *Perſia*, and engage to maintain him upon the Throne againſt all his Enemies, within and without his Empire. 2. That the Limits of the two Empires ſhould be re-placed

“ upon the ſame Foot they were before the War with *Perſia*, and that the contracting Parties ſhould be determined by what was regulated on this Head in the Reign of Sultan *Amurath* I.” It was given out, that this Method of Expreſſion was uſed to avoid the diſagreeable Term of *Ceſſion*, and to ſave the Honour ~~of the~~ *Porte*: To confirm which, there was ſaid to be a ſeparate private Article, which explained *replacing the Limits*, by reſtoring to *Perſia* all the Conqueſts made upon it during the late Troubles. Proviſion was likewiſe made by this Treaty, for the Followers of the Prophet *Ali* to have Leave to viſit *Mahomet*'s Tomb, free of the Impoſitions formerly exacted from the *Perſian* Pilgrims: And there was, moreover, a mutual Exchange of Priſoners. Great Advantages theſe for the *Perſians*, at his firſt coming to the Throne!

The following Year, 1737, was attended with ſome domeſtic Troubles to the new King of *Perſia*, occaſioned by Inſurrections, not only in favour of the old Royal Family, of whom his Son Prince *Thamas* and *Abbas* were yet living, but alſo by the Partizans of *Myrr-Iſlan*, Brother to the famous *Myrr-Maghmud*. But, partly by his Politicks, and partly by his Arms, *Schah Nadir* put an End to them all, and diſappointed his Enemies

Abroad, who waited the Event of theſe Commotions..

It was while Things in *Perſia* were thought in this precarious Situation, that the following Letter from an Ambaſſador's Secretary at *Conſtantinople*, to his Friend in *England*, was made public in the Papers. The Explanation of ſome Parts of it depend on the Time when it was written.

SIR,

“ I Can now ſatisfy your Curioſity; and “ you may depend upon it, that what I “ tell you is authentic.

“ *Thamas Kouli Kan* was born at *Aſcheir* “ in *Chorazan*, a Province of *Perſia*. His “ Father was a Shepherd, which Profeſſion “ the Son too followed for ſome Time, till “ he took a Diſlike to it, from a riſing Am- “ bition to make himſelf more conſiderable “ in the World; and then it was, that he “ ſtole 700 Sheep from his Father, which he “ ſold, and with the Money liſted a Gang of “ reſolute *Banditti*, of whom he put himſelf at “ the Head, and then plundered ſeveral Cara- “ vans†, with the Booty whereof he enrich- “ ed himſelf very much. After having car-

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† This agrees with what was ſaid of the Reign of *Schah Huſſein*, that the Kingdom was then greatly infeſted with Robbers.

" ried on the Trade of a common Highway-
" man for ſeven Years, he went to the Pro-
" vince of *Muzandran*, to which the King
" *Schah Huſſein* had ſent his Son the Prince
" *Thamas* for Security, before he was obliged
" to yield up *Iſpahan* to the Rebels. The
" ſaid King being afterwards put to Death,
" *Thamas Kouli Kan*, who by this Time
" had 5000 Men under his Command, offered
" them, together with his Treaſures, to Prince
" *Thamas*, to reſtore him to the Throne of
" his Anceſtors; engaging, at the ſame Time,
" that he would give him his Head, if he
" did not ſucceed in his Enterprize; provid-
" ed, that in Caſe of ſuch Succeſs, the Prince,
" when he became King, ſhould declare him
" his Prime Miniſter. The Prince conſent-
" ed to whatever he asked, ſuch was his in-
" tire Confidence in *Thamas Kouli Kan*, who,
" to give him the ſtronger Proof of his Attach-
" ment, aſſumed this new Name, which ſig-
" nifies *the Slave of Schah Thamas*†; where-
" as he went before by the Name of *Nadir*
" *Kouli*.

" The firſt Thing that *Kouli Kan* did, af-
" ter having raiſed a very great Body of Troops,
" was the driving of the Rebels from *Ma-*
" *ched*; after which, he reduced the Pro-

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† This differs a little from the Etymology before given, founded upon the Jeſuits Memoirs.

vince of *Herat*, and carried the Governor's Head to Prince *Thamas*, as a Trophy of his Victory.

“His Army being now become more powerful, he beſieged and took *Iſpahan*, and reduced the *Aghvans*, a rebellious Nation, who had ſubdued almoſt all *Perſia*. It would be needleſs to relate his ſubſequent Victories, becauſe they are ſo well known. He had the Policy to carry Prince *Thamas* with him in ſeveral of his Expeditions, to give the more Reaſon to think, that he acted only for that Prince. The Bravery of *Kouli Kan*, his generous Treatment of the Soldiery, and the Generoſity with which he rewarded them, having procured him their entire Confidence, he took that Opportunity to ſeize the Government, by the Stratagem that was mentioned at that Time, on pretence that Prince *Thamas* was incapable of Governing. In fine, his Ambition, or rather Vanity, knowing no no Bounds, about a Year ago he got himſelf declared King of *Perſia*, by the principal Adherents of his Party. But this Advancement, inſtead of eſtabliſhing his Authority, muſt rather tend to weaken it. He was beloved as the Defender of his Country; and it was then more devoted to him; than it is now under his pompous Title of King. As he has reached to the

" Throne by Uſurpation, he has had recourſe " to Cruelty to ſecure himſelf in the Poſſeſ- " ſion of it. He * has put Prince *Thamas*, " and all the Princes of the *Perſian* Royal " Family, to Death; as well as ſeveral *Per-* " *ſian* Lords, of whom he had a Jealouſy. " He has taken the Title of *Schah Nadir*; " and upon the Money coined with his Dye, " he has put a moſt vain Inſcription, ſignify- " ing, *The matchleſs King, the Sovereign of the* " *four Parts of the World.*

" As to his Perſon, he is about 50 Years of " Age; robuſt, inured to Fatigue, and has " a very majeſtic Preſence.

" As to his Character, he acts ſo much by " the Rules of Policy, that 'tis hard to ſay, " whether the good Qualities that have been " remarked in him proceed from a Principle " of Virtue. He ſeems to be very liberal, eſpe- " cially to his Troops, which he by that means " obliges to obſerve an exact Diſcipline. He " has been ſeen to act with great Magnanimi- " ty upon ſome Occaſions, eſpecially at the " Time of the two Victories which he ob- " tained over the *Turks*. He cauſed great " Funeral Honours to be paid to the two " Generals in chief, who therein loſt their

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* Here the Gentleman ſeems to have been miſ-informed by the *Turks*, who mortally hate *Kouli Kan*.

" Lives, *viz.* *Topal Oſman* and *Abdullah Ku-
" progli*; as he ordered the Priſoners he took
" on theſe Occaſions to be treated with all the
" Civility poſſible. He has alſo been known
" to perform Actions of Equity. He is a
" Man of Wiſdom and Penetration; but reck-
" oned very artful. He is moreover intem-
" perate to Exceſs, and very much addicted
" to Women, Wine, and Drams. He has
" an Affection for the *Europeans*, and has a
" great Number of them in his Troops,
" whom he has put on much the ſame Pay
" and Footing as they have in *Europe*. But
" he prefers the *French* before all other Fo-
" reigners. After he had taken *Kiſſlis*, the
" Miſſionaries who were ſettled there, under
" the Protection of the Crown of *France*,
" went to wait on him, when he received
" them very friendly, made them ſit down
" with him, and told them, that he always
' had an extraordinary Friendſhip and Eſ-
' teem for their Nation, and a pro-
' found Reſpect for the *French* Emperor,
' (a Title which is eſtabliſhed in the
' Eaſt for all Kings) and that all his Sub-
' jects ſhould be treated in *Perſia* with more
' Diſtinction than thoſe of any Nation in
' *Europe*. When the Audience was over,
' he gave them all the Money he had about
' him; and he has ſince not only confirmed
' but enlarged their Privileges.

" When *Baki Kam*, Ambaſſador from " *Kouli Kan*, left this Place, he carried with " him ſeveral *Mullahs*, or Doctors of the " *Turkiſh* Divinity, in order to confer with " the Doctors of *Perſia*, on Ways and Means " for reconciling the *Turkiſh* Sect of *Omar* " with the *Perſian* Sect of *Ali*; who, tho' " both *Mahometans*, hate each other to ſuch a " Degree, that they reproach one another with " being *Omar*'s *Dogs* and *Ali*'s *Aſſes*. The " Point in View is, to ſee if they can unite " the two Parties in ſome Degrees of that " Faith, more or leſs, which they place in " the bleſſed State of *Mahomet*, and in the Mi" racles aſcribed to him.

" The *Porte* had reſolved that an Ambaſ" ſador ſhould have gone with that Miniſter, " to ratify the Peace, and recognize *Kouli* " *Kan* King of *Perſia*; but having received " Advice of the Stand that was made againſt " him, ſince he took that wrong Step in aſſum" ing the Title of King, and being informed " moreover, that the *Perſian* Malecontents " are ſupported by the *Uſbeck Tartars*, and " that Part of his Army has actually been " defeated by the Malecontents within two " Leagues of *Iſpahan*, 'tis preſumed, from the " Temper the *Porte* was in upon the Re" ceipt of theſe Advices, that the Grand Sig" nior will not be in violent Haſte to perform " the Terms of the Peace concluded with

"*Kouli Kan*, eſpecially his Engagement to "maintain him on the Throne. On the "contrary, it is believed, that as the *Porte* "only agreed to the Peace out of a political "Neceſſity, they will not heſitate much in "taking other Meaſures, if their Intereſt re- "quires it."

But whatever was inſinuated at *Conſtantinople*, which occaſioned this Gentleman to write thus dubiouſly of the new Sophi's Affairs, we have Reaſon to think that the *Turks* rather flattered themſelves with the Hopes of what they gave out, then really believed it upon good Foundation; and their Behaviour had ſuch an Effect upon *Kouli Kan*, that he wrote a Letter to the Czarina, with freſh Aſſurances of his Intention to maintain the Alliance between the two Crowns, and that he never would furniſh the Grand Signior with Troops to act againſt her Imperial Majeſty.

At the Beginning of the next Year, 1738, certain Advice came from *Ghilan* in *Perſia*, that there was a perfect Tranquility in all the interior Parts of the Kingdom; and that the Sophi had eſtabliſhed ſuch good Orders, and cauſed them to be ſo punctually obſerved, that the Merchants, as well Foreigners as Natives, could travel any where without the leaſt Danger. Plenty reigned all over that vaſt Empire, and Proviſions were at a very moderate Price. And all the Inhabitants of the Province of *Candahar* having ſubmitted, it was expected that *Myrr Iſlan*, who commanded in the Capital, would ſoon be obliged to ſurrender, and acknowledge *Schah Nadir* for his lawful Sovereign.

The *Perſian* could not forget the unfriendly Treatment of the *Porte*, at a Juncture when they imagined his Authority in Danger: And by his Manner of Behaving at this Time, it was judged he would ſoon turn his Arms againſt the *Turkiſh* Dominions, in order to revenge the Inſult, and aſſert ſome Claims which he pretended to have on their Frontiers. He expreſſed the utmoſt Diſlike of a Peace, which he ſaw the *Turks* would keep no longer than it ſuited them to take the Advantage of a Rupture. It was even aſſerted in a Letter from *Iſpahan*, that he went ſo far, in the Preſence of the *Turkiſh* Envoy, as to reproach and cane his Ambaſſador, for having ſigned a diſhonourable Peace with the *Porte*; and ordered his Secretary to write to the Sultan, that he would never make a Peace, but on the Conditions formerly propoſed by the Great *Schab Abbas* and revived in the late Treaty between them, which were, to reſtore *Bgdat*, and all the Conqueſts the *Turk* had from Time to Time made on the *Perſians*, and to permit that both Nations ſhould have the ſame Privileges at *Mecca*: Upon the Refuſal of which Conditions, he would forthwith march towards *Conſtantinople*. Perhaps the high Strains of this Meſſage are ſomewhat above what were really uſed; but our Foreign Advices at this Time, about the *Mahometan* Affairs, went all in the ſame Key, and the Sultan and the Sophy ſeemed to bully each other alternately.

Not long after we had Advice, that the Sophy had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, who inſiſting on a ſpeedy Audience of the Sultan, were refuſed by the Grand Vizier, unleſs they would firſt communicate their Commiſſion to him. But being at laſt admitted, after a Divan held on the Occaſion, they aſſured his Highneſs, that the only Way to keep in a good Underſtanding with their Maſter, was to reſtore *Babylon*, and ſeveral other Places. This was looked upon as ſuch an Inſult, that next Day the Ambaſſador's Palace was ſurrounded with *Janizaries*: And we were informed from *Peterſburgh* about the ſame Time, that the Sophy had renewed the War with the *Turks*, and actually formed the Siege of *Tefflis* with 170,000 Men. In ſhort, every Thing ſeemed to have a martial Aſpect in thoſe Parts.

But, whatever theſe two *Mahometan* Powers might either talk or deſign, or even act, they were both employed the next Campaign in very remote Scenes from each other, the one againſt the *Ruſſians* and *Germans* in *Servia* and *Moldavia*, the other firſt in the Reduction of *Candahar*, and next againſt the Mogul in the Heart of his Territories, who had aſſiſted the People of *Candahar*, and whom, in revenge, he intirely reduced to his Obedience. But as the Tranſactions in this laſt-mentioned War are ſo lately over, and good Advices from ſuch remote Parts arrive but ſeldom, we muſt be content at preſent with a leſs perfect Account of them than their Importance ſeems to deſerve. The great Difficulty of the Affair is, that we had two Accounts of almoſt every Action, one from his Enemies the *Turks*, the other either from *Peterſburgh*, or from *European* Factors in *Perſia*.

Having reduced *Candahar*, *Schah Nadir* publiſhed his Manifeſto againſt the Mogul, which was couched in Terms of the following Import. “My Will tends to remain in Peace; but the divine Will allots War in theſe Parts, by which I ſee myſelf engaged in great Confuſion and Alarms. In the wide Sea of this periſhable World, I ſeem, as it were, mounted upon the Back of an Alligator, from which I am not without Fear of being over-ſet, and going down to the Bottom.” This was eſteemed a very modeſt and humble Piece, according to the *Aſiatic* Taſte of Eloquence.

The Rapidity with which the Sophy puſhed on his Conqueſts,was almoſt incredible.The Manifeſto mas hardly arrived in theſe Parts, but it was followed by Advice that he had ſubdued two great Cities, *Cabul* and *Jullabad*, and paſſed over the River *Catat* with a powerful Army. He then entered the City *Piſhawr*, and there took up his Quarters, where he had an Encounter with a very powerful Army, which he defeated.

When he came to the River *Attack*, he was obliged to wait ſome Time before he could get Boats, or furniſh himſelf with Materials to make a Bridge for the Paſſage of his Army: And had the Mogul, at this Time, liſtened to the Advice of *Zechane Kan*, Governor of *Labor*, who oppoſed the Sophy's Paſſage, and wrote in the moſt preſſing Terms to his Maſter for Supplies, it was thought a Stop might have been put to the Torrent of his Succeſs. But at length he paſſed over, and from thence directed his Route to the River *Jalon*, which he alſo croſſed with very ſmall Oppoſition, and the Loſs of only a few Men.

It was not long before he arrived at *Labor*, one of the principal Cities of the Empire, which, after ſuſtaining a Siege of a few Days, ſurrendered, the Governor wanting both Men and Money.The Bravery of this Commander, however, had ſuch an Effect upon the Conqueror, that he re-inſtated him in his Government;

and at the Requeſt of *Naſir Kan*, preſerved the Inhabitants of the Place from Plunder, upon their making him a Preſent of Jewels and Money to a great Value.

The Mogul began now to look about him, and even to tremble in the Midſt of his numerous Guards at *Delly*. He gave out Orders for ſummoning together the Nobility, with 300,000 Horſe, to oppoſe *Schah Nadir*. It was now too late to do this effectually, and the *Perſian* Ambaſſador at *Petersburgh* had certain Information, by Letters dated at *Iſpahan* the 3d of *July*, 1739, that *Nadir* had defeated the Mogul in five pitch'd Battles, in the laſt of which, near *Janapore*, he intirely ruined an Army of 300,000 Men, and took a vaſt Booty in Gold, Silver, Diamonds, Pearls, and other Treaſure, which was carried on the Backs of 4,000 Elephants. It was added, that the Conqueror, upon taking this immenſe Plunder, diſcharged his own Subjects of all Taxes for three Years, and ordered 14,000 Gentlemen into *Perſia*, with 26,000 Camels, and 7,000 Elephants, to make their triumphant Entry into *Iſpahan*.

In a word, that Capital was ſoon after a Scene of public Rejoicings, eſpecially when the News came that the Mogul, *Trergon Dagler*, Emperor of all *Indoſtan*, was taken Priſoner. That unfortunate Prince, it ſeems, fell at the Feet of the Conqueror, who, from a Principle of Generoſity that has few Precedents, not only granted him his Life, but even his Throne, upon Condition only that he ſhould pay him an annual Tribute. But having obtained his Liberty, and regained the Form of Authority, the Monarch who was lately ſo ſubmiſſive, flattered himſelf with making Head afreſh, and driving out of his Empire that Victor, who had agreed to march out on ſuch moderate Conditions. With this View, rallying his Troops, he began to fortify himſelf in the City of *Agra*: Which ungrateful Behaviour ſo provoked the Sophy, that he then purſued him as a Rebel. The poor Mogul, unable to put in Practice the Oppoſition he had meditated, was ſaid to retire with his Wives and Family beyond the Bay of *Bengal*: And *Schah Nadir*, who had now a juſtifiable Pretence, took Poſſeſſion of all the Provinces of *Indoſtan*, and the Countries thereon depending, cauſing himſelf to be crowned in the Capital of *Delly*. But if this latter Part of the Relation were ever true, he kept the Crown he had aſſumed only till he brought the Enemy to Reaſon.

I do not inſert all the contradictory Accounts of this ſurpriſing Revolution, which perhaps will never be reconciled till Peace is perfectly re-eſtabliſhed in the two Empires. If I had taken that Method, I ſhould have told the Reader, almoſt in the ſame Paragraph that I recited the above Inſtance of *Schah Nadir*'s Generoſity, That that Prince had ſhut up the Mogul and his Prime Miniſter in a Caſtle, and cauſed their Eyes to be put out: That the Inhabitants of *Delly* murmuring at this Cruelty, and beginning to mutiny, the Victor ordered his Army to fall upon them, which they did, and in two Days maſſacreed 300,000 People, Men, Women, and Children. I ſhould alſo have inſerted the Letters from *Conſtantinople*, which told us, that *Schah Nadir* made uſe of Treachery as well as Valour; for finding his Troops diminiſhed by ſeveral Battles, and a great many Places ſtill to reduce, he propoſed, in the Month of *March*, to give Peace to the Mogul, upon Condition that he ſhould yield up two or three Provinces, and furniſh Money for the Expence of his Retreat. One *Sadu Kan*, an *Indian* Nobleman, who had been bribed by the *Perſians*, and taken in a ſham Attack, to conceal his Treaſon, propoſed and brought about this Treaty. The Mogul then gave an Entertainment to the Sophy, who was next to treat in his Turn. *Sadu Kan* prevailed on his Prince to go; but Dinner was ſcarcely over, ere he was ſeized with his whole Retinue. The ſame Leters mention the Maſſacree at *Dellis*, but reduce the Number to 200,000. And others, ſoon after, aſſured us, that *Schah Nadir* had been killed in an Engagement with the *Bajalaps*, a wild daring Nation, inhabiting the Mountains between *Perſia* and *Indoſtan*.

Theſe are the various Reports that have been ſpread of this extraordinary Campaign, which at this Diſtance ſeems almoſt equal to the greateſt that ever was made. It does not appear, however, that the *Perſian* Monarch deſigned any more in it than to humble his Neighbour, becauſe, according to the beſt Accounts from *Perſia*, ſince the Effuſion of Blood has been over, we are aſſured, that ſo far was he from uſing ſuch Cruelty as the laſt mentioned Letters aſſert, as even to give Peace to his Enemy when he had him in his Power, on Condition of a very inconſiderable Ceſſion in proportion to the Whole. Indeed, this Hero's Thoughts ſeem directed towards a more potent Enemy than the Mogul, an Enemy practiſed in the military Art by their late Wars with the *Europeans*. He has not forgot his Quarrel with them about two Years ago; and though he poſtponed the Purſuit of it for the Sake of his late Expedition, yet that Expedition, againſt the Sovereign of ſo extenſive an Empire, ſeems to have been only a Sort of Excurſion in this Warrior, juſt to ſecure every Thing on the *Eaſtern* Side, while he bends his whole Force to carry on his favourite Project in the Weſt. Doubtleſs it is with a View of being denied, that ſince his Return to *Perſia*, he has not only renewed his Demand of a free Paſſage for his Subjects to *Mecca*, but propoſed that pompous Pilgrimage in Perſon, with a Number of Men that amounts rather to an Army than a Retinue for even the greateſt of Oriental Monarchs. What the Event of all this will be, another Year perhaps may determine,

FINIS.

THE

INDEX.

I. denotes the Firſt Volume, II. denotes the Second. Theſe Marks are omitted, when what follows belongs to the ſame Volume. The Preface is mark'd with Capital Numerals.

A.

ABAS (Mirza) *Son of* Solyman, *and Brother to* Schah-Huſſein, *his Character,* I. Pag. 62. *Excluded from the Crown,* 64

Abas I. (Schah) *ſirnamed* the Great, *whoſe Son he was, and whom he ſucceeded, ſuſpected by his Father, juſtifies himſelf,* I. 35. *Kills his Governor,* 36. *Propoſes to himſelf to recover all that had been taken during the Reigns of his Predeceſſors, and performs it,* 37. *Is look'd upon as the Reſtorer of* Perſia, 38. *Makes ſome Conqueſts in the* Turkiſh *Territories,* 39. *An able Politician, and the firſt who ſet the Kings of* Perſia *free,* 39. *The* *Means*

Means he made uſe of to gain them an abſolute Power, 40. *Orders the Eyes of his two youngeſt Sons to be put out,* 41. *Afterwards he put his eldeſt,* Mirza-Sefi, *to Death; quickly repents of it, and is ſenſibly afflicted at it the Remainder of his Life,* 42. *Dies, and nominates his Grandſon, and* Mirza-Sefi's *Son, to be his Succeſſor,* 42. *His Maxims about the Puniſhment of Perſons of all Ranks,* 107. *His Policy in keeping up two Factions in every Town of his Kingdom,* 91. *His commendable Care for the Safety of the Roads,* 113

Abas II. (Schah) *aſcends the Throne,* I. 48. *An Order given to deprive him of his Sight, but avoided by the Eunuch who was to do it,* 48. *An Act of Authority and Vigor in his Youth,* 51. *Retakes* Candahar *from the* Mogul, 51. *He openly protects the Chriſtians in his Kingdom,* 52. *An Act of Juſtice in their behalf,* 52. *Dies young without appointing his Succeſſor,* 53. *A Report that he died a Chriſtian,* 129

Abdulla, *Prince of the* Usbeks, *overcome by* Schah-Abas I. *who caus'd him, together with his Brother and three of his Sons, to be beheaded,* I. 37

Achmet-Aga, *an Eunuch, repulſes the Rebels, and drives them from the Bridge of* Abuſabat, II. 60. *Attempts to force a Poſt of the Rebels, and is deſerted by the General of the* Perſian *Army,* 86. *Is unjuſtly reprimanded by the King,* 86; *poiſons himſelf, and is found dead. His Character. An Inſtance of the Liberty he took with the King in the Time of the Famine,* 87, &c.

Achmet, *Baſhaw of* Babylon, *lays ſiege to* Amadan, *defeats Prince* Thamas's *Troops, and takes the Town,* II. 112. *Advances within three Days March of* Iſpahan: *Is obliged to return to* Babylon, 180

Aghvans, *the Nation who have lately conquer'd* Perſia; *their Origin, and from whence their Name is deriv'd,* I. 137, 138. *Their Manner of Living and Dreſs,* 145. *Their Manner of fighting and military Diſcipline,* 149 *Are humane to their Priſoners, and regular in their Morals,* 82. *Their Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs on a certain Occaſion, how puniſhed,* II. 69. *Conſult about declaring a Succeſſor to* Maghmud *before his Death, and make choice of* Aſzraff *his Couſin-german,* 153

Agmat, *King of* Perſia *before the Sophis, is killed after a Reign of ſix Months,* I. 11

Akuli, *a Town belonging to the* Armenians *in* Perſia, I. 110

Aladul, *King of* Cappadocia, *ſhelters* Morat-Cham, I. 17. *Is defeated by* Iſmael I. *King of* Perſia, 17

Ali, *Head of a Sect in* Mahometaniſm *to which the* Perſians *adhere,* I. 4

Ali-Merdan-Kan, *in the Reign of* Schah-Sefi, *delivers up* Candahar *to the* Mogul, *and why,* I. 140

Ali-Merdan-Kan, *another Lord in the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, *the greateſt General in* Perſia, II. 20. *Aſſembles Troops to ſuccour* Iſpahan, *which are worſted in his Abſence by his Brother's Fault,* 67. *His Fidelity to his King,* 68. *His Advantages over the* Turks. *He carries with him to the Wars two of his Daughters, who fight by him in Mens Dreſs,* 181

181. *He is obliged to forſake Prince* Thamas, *and why*, 182

Almas Kullar-Aghaſy, *firſt Miniſter to* Myrr-Maghmud, *in what manner uſed by his Succeſſor*; *his Death*; *a fine Character of this* Aghvan *Miniſter*, II. 157

Alvante, *the laſt King of* Perſia *before the Reign of the Sophis, defeated and killed by* Iſmael I. 15

Amadan, *a conſiderable City in* Perſia, *taken by the* Turks, II. 142

Aman-Ulla, *one of the principal Chiefs of the* Aghvans, *is ſent to* Casbin, II. 104. *Is driven from it with great Loſs*, 107. *His Pretenſions againſt* Maghmud; *he marries a Daughter of* Schah-Huſſein, 136, 137. *Leaves* Iſpahan *with his Troops, and takes the Crown with him*, 137. *He is purſued by* Maghmud, *who overtakes him, and after their Reconciliation ſends him back to* Iſpahan, 138. *He is narrowly watched*; *an Affront offered to him by* Maghmud, *and his Reſentment of it*, 139. *He is ſet at Liberty*; *and becomes a ſecret Enemy of* Maghmud, *and one of the Heads of a Conſpiracy formed againſt him in favour of* Aſzraff, 139. *He is made* Athemat-Doulet *by* Maghmud, 167. *His immenſe Riches, which are confiſcated by* Aſzraff *now King. A Piece of Knavery of his towards the* Engliſh *of the Factory of* Iſpahan, 167, 168

Amurat IV. *Emperor of the* Turks, *loſes the greateſt Part of his Army in* Perſia, *and how*, II. 16

Armenians, *how tranſported into* Perſia *by* Schah-Abas, II. 39. *Settled at* Zulfa *near* Iſpahan. *Privileges granted them by the ſame* Schah-Abas,

Abas, 41, 42. *Suffer many Grievances in the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, 44. *Are diſarmed by the Court at the Approach of the Rebels,* 46. *Are abandoned by the Court, and obliged to treat with the Rebels,* 47. *Are plunder'd by the Rebels, who had made themſelves Maſters of* Zulfa, 51. *They refuſe to be Mediators between the Rebels and the Court, and why,* 61. *They urge the Court to lay hold of an Opportunity to overthrow the* Aghvans, *which miſcarried through the Treachery of the General,* 72. *Are in greater Eſteem at preſent in* Perſia *than any other Nation,* 198

Army, *State of that of* Maghmud, II. 11

Artillery, *the Ignorance of the* Perſians *in it; how many Cannons there were at* Iſpahan; *and how many Shot fired during the Siege,* II. 93.

Aſlam-Kan, *Lieutenant-General to Prince* Thamas, *hinders his being ſurprized by* Aſzraff, II. 175

Aſzraff, *Couſin German to* Maghmud; *he is ſuſpected by him during the Siege of* Iſpahan, *and wherefore,* II. 154. *Caſt into Priſon by* Maghmud *after the Siege of* Iſpahan, 155. *Negotiates during his Impriſonment with Prince* Thamas *to dethrone* Maghmud, 171. *Is taken out of Priſon to be plac'd upon the Throne,* 155. *Forces the Palace of* Maghmud, *cauſes his Head to be cut off, and all his Guards to be maſſacred,* 156. *His Diſſimulation on his aſcending the Throne,* 162. *His Policy in the Care he took of the Burial of the Princes of the Blood, whom* Maghmud *had murder'd,* 164. *His Humanity towards* Schah-Huſſein, 165. *He divorces his Wife to marry one of the Daughters of that Prince,* 166. *He*

He cauſes this Marriage, and the Rights of his Son born of that Princeſs, to be confirm'd in a Treaty with the Porte, 194. *He arreſts all thoſe who had conſpir'd to place him on the Throne; puts ſome of them to Death, and confiſcates the Eſtates of all of them,* 166. *He puts his youngeſt Brother's Eyes out, and confines him to the* Haram, 170. *He puts to death the Twenty-five* Perſian *Lords whom* Maghmud *had ſpar'd, and under what Pretence,* 174. *He ſends an Embaſſy and Preſents to Prince* Thamas, *and appoints an Interview with him, with Deſign to ſurprize him,* 175. *He ſends an Embaſſy to the* Porte, 185. *His Ambaſſador is at firſt well receiv'd, afterwards rejected, and why,* 190. *His Behaviour to the* Turks *to induce them to a Peace,* 189. *The* Turks *declare War againſt him,* 190. *He concludes a Peace with them,* 194. *His Government eſtabliſh'd in* Perſia, 199.

Athemet-Doulet, *Title of the Prime Miniſter of* Perſia, I. 84. *Offers to go on the Expedition to* Candahar, *after ſeveral had refus'd it,* 218. *He procures that Commiſſion for his Brother-in-Law,* 218. *The two oppoſite Factions of the Court combine to ruin him,* 225. *Palpable Slander rais'd againſt him,* 226. *He is arreſted, his Eyes are put out, and he is tortur'd,* 228. *His Relations and Friends are arreſted,* 229. *His immenſe Wealth, and what it amounted to,* ibid. *A Council, in which he is heard in his Defence; the Complaints of his Accuſers; he juſtifies himſelf againſt every Article,* 232, *to* 235. *Tho' innocent, yet for Reaſons of State, he is baniſh'd to the Caſtle of* Chiras, *with a large Penſion,* 250. *He dies, and how;*

bow; his Character, 252. *His illuſtrious Birth*, 241. *His Relations and Friends are reſtor'd to their Liberty and Eſtates*, 254. *His Sons-in-Law are in no ways moleſted*, 255.

Athemat-Doulet, *Succeſſor to the former, cauſes the Loſs of the Battel of* Giulnabat, II. 22. *In taking the Oath of Allegiance to* Maghmud, *when acknowledg'd King, he ſtipulates that he ſhall not be oblig'd to bear Arms againſt Prince* Thamas. 102

Avarice, *A juſt and ſingular Puniſhment of it at the taking of the City of* Chiras, II. 128.

Aureng-Zeb, *Emperor of the* Mogul, *offers to lay Siege to* Candahar, *but is diverted from it*, I. 143.

B.

BAchtylarians, *People that live in Tents in* Perſia, I. 97. *An Account of this Nation; they drive the* Turkiſh *Army out of their Canton*, II. 180

Balſora, *a Town upon the* Tigris, *near the* Perſian *Gulph*, I. 39

Bajazet, *Son to* Soliman II. *a Refugee in* Perſia, *is put to death at the Inſtance of his Father*, I. 28.

Bayſingir, *King of* Perſia *after* Julaver, I. 9

Beggar, *a blind one, finds Means to ſubſiſt during the whole Time of the Famine at* Iſpahan, II. 91

Begum, (Mary) *Grandmother to* Schah-Huſſein. Begum *is the Title of the Princeſſes in* Perſia, *as well as at the Court of* Mogul, I. 128

Bender-

Bender-Abaſſi, *the Mortality of that Climate; an Excurſion made by the Rebels that way, after the taking of* Chiras, II. 129.

Ben-Iſpahan, *a large Town, its Inhabitants defeat the Rebels, and make Repriſals upon their Priſoners,* II. 70. *Incite thoſe of* Iſpahan *to revolt, and ſally out againſt the Rebels to the Gates of that City,* 111. *They make their Peace with the Uſurper* Maghmud, 121. *They prove faithful to him after the Accommodation, deliver up to him General* Luft-Ali-can, *and gain his Confidence by this important Service* 122

Berthullah-Effendi *ſent to* Perſia, *by the* Grand-Signior, *to conclude a Peace with* Aſzraff, II. 193

Bizarus, *Author of the* General Hiſtory of Perſia, as well ancient as modern, I. 5.

Bridges, *four Bridges over the* Senderou, *a quarter of a League from* Iſpahan, II. 37

Bridge *of* Abuſabat, *the* Aghvans *attack it unſucceſsfully,* II. 60. *They make themſelves Maſters of it,* 65

Bridge *of* Chiras *near* Iſpahan, *the* Aghvans *ſoon take it, and afterwards are beaten from it with great Loſs,* II. 59

Buildings, *Extravagancies of* Schah-Huſſein *on this Head,* I. 125

CAchan, (*Town of*) *ſends Deputies to* Maghmud, *and receives him within its Walls,* II. 134

Caidar-Miriſes, *Third Son to* Thamas *King of* Perſia, *who declares him his Succeſſor,* I. 24

He is put to death by Order of Iſhmael II. *his Brother, who is preferr'd before him,* 27

Calaate, *what it is,* I. 86. *How abus'd during the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, 87

Calumny, *the Prime Miniſter of* Perſia *ſinks under a flagrant one,* I. 225

Candahar, *the Capital of the Country of the* Aghvans, *is taken by* Schah-Abas I. I. 139 *Loſt under* Schah-Sefi, *his Succeſſor, and how, Retaken by* Schah-Abas II. *Succeſſor to* Schah-Sefi, 143. *Fortified by* European *Engineers whilſt it belonged to the* Mogul, 144. *Its Situation, and Diſtance from* Iſpahan, 145

Carabes, *a* Perſian *Lord, revenges the Death of* Ruſtan *King of* Perſia, I. 11

Casbin, (*the City of*) *formerly the Capital of* Perſia, II. 104. *Receives the* Aghvans, *who afterwards are driven out of it with great Loſs,* 105

Chardin, *his Travels in* Perſia, Pref. xviii.

Cheriman, Arut, *one of the richeſt* Armenians *in* Zulfa, *plunder'd by the Rebels,* II. 52

Cheriman, Manuel, *an* Armenian *to whom* Aſzraff *committed the Management of his Negotiations with the* Porte, II. 185

Chielentar, *a Poſt that* Myrr-Weis *held at* Candahar. *See* Kielentar, I. 153

Children *of the* Perſian *Nobility educated in Colleges, are maſſacred by the* Aghvans, II. 108

Chiras (*Town of*) *beſieged by the* Aghvans, II. 122. *Capitulates, and is broke into during the Parley and ſacked,* 128

Chogia-Drak, *an Eunuch ſkilful in the Art of Government, ſole Director of all Affairs in the Reign of* Schah Solyman, I. 82

Codabende (Mahomet) *eldeſt Brother to* Iſmael II. *refuſes the Crown*, I. 24. *Accepts of it with Reluctancy after the Death of his Brother*, 28. *A praiſe-worthy Prince; the Cauſe of the various Opinions concerning him*, 29. *Puts to death three of his Brothers*, 30. *Overcomes the* Turks *in ſeveral Battels*, 31. *His Death; he leaves three Sons, who all ſucceeded him in their turns the ſame Year*, 32

Confiſcation *of Eſtates, antient Cuſtoms in* Perſia *relating to it*, I. 106. *The Method the Eunuchs made uſe of in the Reign of* Schah Huſſein, *of converting them to their own Profit*, 108

Corſchi-Bachi, *General of the* Corſchis, *ſent to arreſt the prime Miniſter in his Houſe*, I. 227

Corſchis, *or* Courtchis, *an antient Body of Militia, powerful in* Perſia, *till weaken'd by* Schah Abas I. *and his Succeſſors*, I. 40

Chronology *of the Revolution*, Pref. xv.

Cure, *a ſtrange one perform'd on* Eſik Aghari *by a Jeſuit*, Pref. iv.

Curdes, *ſee* Kurdes.

D.

DELY, *a* Tartar *Sultan, who had ſided with* Aſzraff *againſt the* Turks, *is included in the Treaty of Peace concluded with the* Porte, II. 195

Dergeſins, *a Nation ſettled in* Perſia, *invited to* Iſpahan *to repeople that City*, II. 115. *The Rank this Nation at preſent bears in* Perſia, II. 197

Deroga, *a ſort of Intendant in* Perſia, *one of them in every Town — their Exactions in the Reign of* Schah Huſſein, I. 110

Deroga, *of* Iſpahan *in the ſame Reign, made Money by ſetting Priſoners at Liberty to rob,* 111. *A notorious Act of Injuſtice of his,* 112

Dervis, *a ſtately Monaſtery of* Dervizes *built by* Schah Huſſein, I. 127

Divan-Beg, *or the chief Juſtice in* Perſia, I. 150. *the Probity and Sincerity of an* Aghvan, *on whom this Employment was conferred in the Reign of* Maghmud, II. 103

E.

EIDAR (Schah) *or* Aidar, *Father to King* Iſmael, *the firſt who raiſ'd his Family,* I. 7. *His Doctrine gains great Credit; called* Ardevil, *and why,* 7. *Marries the Daughter of* Uſſum Caſſam *King of* Perſia, 8. *Is ſlain by Order of* Ruſtan *King of* Perſia, 10. *His Sect perſecuted after his Death,* ibid.

Engliſh *Fleet aſſiſts* Schah Abas *the Great in taking the Iſle of* Ormus *from the* Portugueſe, I. 245

Engliſh, *knaviſhly dealt with by* Aman-Ulla, II. 167

Eriſtaw, *a Title of Diſtinction of the prime Nobility of* Georgia, I. 150

Eſik-Aghaſi, *one of the chief Officers in* Maghmud's *Army,* II. 116

Eſther, (*Queen*) *her Tomb,* II. 141

Eunuchs, *their State and Condition under the antient Kings of* Perſia, I. 17. *Their Education in the* Haram.—*The Riſe of their Reputation in the Reign of* Schah-Solyman, *and upon what Occaſion,* 81. *A Council of Eunuchs*

nuchs eſtabliſh'd in his Reign, 82. *Their Power increaſes exorbitantly in the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, 83. *Inconveniencies of their great Intereſt*, 85. *Their inſatiable Avarice*, 85. *A ridiculous Edict which they iſſue out to their own Honour*, 80. *Divided into two Factions, of Black and White, and the Miſchiefs ariſing from it to the Government*, 99. *They bring the great Men of the Court under Subjection*, 101. *Their Numbers, their vaſt Riches*, 124

Excommunication *of the* Turkiſh *Mufti againſt the* Perſians, *and of the* Szicheliglam *or* Perſian *Mufti againſt the* Turks, I. 171

F.

FACTION, *all the Cities of* Perſia *divided into two Factions*, I. 91. *The like Diviſion in the* Perſian *Court*, 98. *The Bitterneſs of theſe two Factions*, 91. *The Policy of the Kings of* Perſia *in keeping up theſe Factions*, 91. *The Uſefulneſs of this Practice*, 93. *Inconveniencies of this Practice in the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, 96. *The two oppoſite Factions at Court join to deſtroy the prime Miniſter*, 225

Factories, Engliſh *and* Dutch, II. 129

Famine, *an effectual Remedy made uſe of againſt the Famine in the Beginning of the Reign of* Schah-Solyman, I. 132. Schah-Huſſein's *Care and Liberality in a Time of Famine*, 134. *A Famine at* Iſpahan *during the Siege, and the firſt Cauſe of it*, II. 88. *Its monthly in-*

increaſe; *by which they are reduced to eat human Fleſh*, 90. *The Number of thoſe who periſh'd by that Famine*, 92

Farabat, *a ſumptuous Pleaſure-Houſe built by* Schah-Huſſein,, *a League from* Iſpahan. *A Saying of that Prince concerning this Houſe, which gives an Idea of it*, I. 125. *Taken by the* Aghvans, *who make it their Camp, for the better carrying on the Siege of* Iſpahan, II. 37

Felenk *and* Pelenk, *the diſtinguiſhing Names of the two oppoſite Factions in* Perſia, I. 91

Fetfa, *the written Anſwer of the* Turkiſh *Mufti, to the Queſtions he is conſulted about*, I. 172

Flagella-Kan, *General of the Forces of Prince* Thamas, *is beaten by the* Turks, *before* Amadan; II. 142. *Prince* Thamas *affronts him, which cauſes him to go over to the* Aghvans, 143

Fleuriau, (*Father*) *his Memoirs of the* Levant-*Miſſion*, Pref. ix.

Forgers, *very common in* Perſia, I. 236

Fredon-Kan, *General of Prince* Thamas's *Troops, flies from before the* Aghvans, II. 133

G.

GAures, *or* Giaur, *deſcended from the ancient* Perſians, *favour the Rebels*, II. 11. *The Rank this People at preſent bear in* Perſia, 197

Gemelli-Careri, *Author of a Voyage round the World. His Account of* Perſia *not much to be relied on*, Pref. xviii, xx. *Copies a Miſtake of* Tavernier's, I. 5

Gengea, (*Prince of*) *betray'd by his own Brother, through the Inſtigation of the Eunuchs,* I. 103

Georgia, (*Princes of*) *the Order of their Succeſſion ſubverted by the Eunuchs,* I. 102. *The Kings of* Perſia *beſtow Lands upon them in their Kingdom, to keep them in a ſtricter Dependancy,* 102

Georgia, (*a Woman of*) *what ſhe attempts to revenge the Death of her Husband,* II. 143

Georgians, *offer to ſuppreſs the Rebels, provided no* Perſian *Troops be with them; which is rejected,* I. 100. Myrr-Weis *rewards their Valour,* 198

Georgi-Kan, *Prince of* Georgia, *revolts from* Perſia; *reduc'd by a Stratagem,* I. 154. *Obtains his Pardon, and Re-eſtabliſhment. Is ſent Governor to* Candahar, 151. *He there conceives a Miſtruſt of* Myrr-Weis, *ſends him to Court as a ſuſpected Perſon, and his wiſe Advice to the King concerning him,* 154. *He is aſſaſſinated at* Candahar *by* Myrr-Weis, 183

Ghilan, *a Province of* Perſia, *lying at the lower End of the Weſtern Coaſt of the* Caſpian *Sea. The* Muſcovites *have poſſeſſed themſelves of it,* II. 186

Giez, *a very ſtrong Caſtle three Leagues from* Iſpahan, *how taken,* II. 120

Gioz-Tutzak, *a Name given in* Perſia, *to thoſe who are narrowly watch'd, tho' they are not Priſoners,* I. 155

Giulnabat, *a large Town four Leagues from* Iſpahan, II. 19. *Particulars of the Battel fought there,* 21

Goa, Schah-Huſſein *ſends an Embaſſy to the Vice-Roy of* Goa, I. 146. *An Enterprize miſ-*

miſcarries by Schah-Huſſein's *Miniſters breaking their Promiſe with the* Portugueſe, I. 246

Goſpel, (Red) *among the* Armenians, *what it is.* Maghmud *has recourſe to it in his laſt Sickneſs,* II. 150

Governors *of Provinces and Cities changed too often in the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, I. 134

Guines, *Father of* Schich-Eidar, *and Grandfather of* Iſmael, *firſt King of* Perſia *of the Houſe of the* Sophys, I. 6

H.

HAgi-Bakir, *an* Arabian *War-Officer, defends the City of* Chiras *when beſieg'd by the* Aghvans, II. 136. *Imprudently prohibits Sallies, and is kill'd in admitting a Convoy into the Place,* 127

Haram, *is the ſame thing in* Perſia, *as the* Seraglio *in* Turkey, I. 61. *The exceſſive Expences of* Schah-Huſſein *for the Maintanance of his* Haram, 120

Haſarai, (Aghvans *of*) *join to the* Aghvans *of* Candahar, *but of a different Sect,* I. 210 Maghmud *forces them to march along with him to invade* Perſia, 211. *Five hundred of this Nation ſtand true to* Maghmud *to the laſt, and are cut in Pieces by Order of* Aſzraff, II. 159

Hekimbaſzi, *or the King's firſt Phyſician, together with his chief* Moullah, *forges a Calumny to deſtroy the chief Miniſter, and compaſſes his End,* I. 224. Schah-Huſſein *diſcovers the Falſhood of the Accuſation, but dares not puniſh the Informers,* 253. *The two ſame Informers make the King commit* *an egregious Fault by their Suggeſtions againſt the Prince of* Georgia, 266

Hiemſe, (Emir) *Eldeſt Son to* Codabende, *ſucceeds him, and is kill'd ſoon after by his Brother* Iſmael's *Contrivance* I. 33

Hocen, *a Feſtival celebrated by the* Perſian *Religion in honour of him,* I. 92

Hoſpital, *one built and maintain'd by* Schah-Huſſein, I. 131

Huſſein (Schah) *Son of* Solyman, *his Character,* I. 62. *He is preferr'd to his Brother to ſucceed* Solyman, *and why,* 63. *Forbids the putting out of his Brother's Eyes,* ibid. *He at firſt prohibits the drinking of Wine,* 72. *How he himſelf at firſt was induced to drink ſome, and becomes very fond of it,* 75. *He is wholly govern'd by the Eunuchs,* 76. *His Humanity. A wrong Notion of Clemency inſtill'd into him,* 104, 105. *Keeps himſelf ſhut up in his* Haram, 119. *In what he placed his Glory,* 120. *A great Devotee to his Sect, but very indulgent to the* Chriſtians, 128. *His reaſoning in behalf of the* Chriſtan *Religion,* 131. *Is impos'd upon by two Informers, who prevail upon him to deſtroy his prime Miniſter,* 224. *Is ſenſible of the Calumny, and pardons the two Informers, not daring to ſearch into the Matter,* 255. *Makes Propoſals unadviſedly to* Maghmud, II. 27. *And with equal Indiſcretion, rejects thoſe ſent to him by* Maghmud, 33. *He affronts* Vachtanga, *Prince of* Georgia, I. 266. *He courts and ſollicits this Prince, in vain, to come to his help during the Siege of* Iſpahan, II. 76. *He declares to the People his Reſolution of ſurrendring himſelf to the Enemy,* 95. *He goes to* Farabat, *and delivers himſelf into the*

the Hands of the Conqueror, 97. *An Account of his Reception at* Farabat, *and of his Abdication*, 98. *He is wounded in the Hand, in ſtriving to ſave two of his Children from the Cruelty of* Maghmud, 149. *Refuſes the Crown which* Aſzraff *makes a Show of offering to him, and complains bitterly of the late* Maghmud, 163. *Is well uſed by* Aſzraff, ibid.

I.

Jacoub, *a* Courland *Carpenter, diſlodges the Rebels from the Bridge of* Chiras *before* Iſpahan, *by Cannon-Shot*, II. 60. *A Miſtake in ſome Accounts concerning him*, Pref. xxi.

Jacup, *Son of* Uſſum-Caſſan, *ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of* Perſia, I. 8. *Dies by Poiſon given him by his own Wife; who, together with their only Son, dies by the ſame Poiſon*, 9

Jani-Kan, *a violent Action of that Lord, and his tragical End*, I. 50

Ibrahim-Pacha, *Favourite of* Solyman II. *Emperor of the* Turks, *who puts him to death, and wherefore*, I. 22

Ieſt, *a Town ten days March from* Iſpahan, *on the Road to* Candahar. *Its Gariſon defeats two thouſand* Aghvan *Recruits*, II. 144. *Attack'd by* Maghmud *as he was advancing towards* Iſpahan, *and ſuccesfully beats him back*, ibid. *He beſieges it a ſecond time, and is again repulſ'd with a great Loſs*, 145

Iman-Kouli-Kan, *One of the moſt powerful Lords of* Perſia *in the Reign of* Schah-Sefi, *in what Manner uſed by that Prince*, I. 142

Iſmael, *Son of* Schih-Eidar; *the firſt King of* Perſia *of the Race of the* Sophys, *Predictions of his Father relating to him*, I. 13

a Character of Iſmael, *and his Behaviour in his private Life,* ibid. *His firſt Exploits in* Armenia, 14. *He comes to* Tauris, *then Capital of* Perſia, *which receives him without Reſiſtance,* 115. *He purſues King* Alvante, *overcomes and kills him,* 16. *He defeats* Aladul, *King of* Cappadocia, 17. *He takes* Babylon, ibid. *He ſubdues the* Georgians *and* Tartars, ibid. *He gains a Victory over the King of* Samarcand, ibid. *He wages War ſucceſsfully with* Bajazet *and* Seylim, Turkiſh *Emperors, and the Succeſs of theſe Wars, which he maintains without any Loſs,* 18. *His Death, and how long he reign'd,* ibid.

Iſmael II. *brought out of Priſon to be plac'd on the Throne,* I. 24. *Hated by the Nobility of the Kingdom. Died, being poiſon'd, by his own Siſter,* 28

Iſmael III. *ſucceeds his Brother, whom he had cauſed to be killed, is himſelf killed after having reigned only a few Months,* I. 34

Iſpahan, *the Capital City of* Perſia, *frightned at the Approach of the Rebels,* II. 18. *Seized with a Conſternation after the Loſs of the Battel of* Giulnabat, 24. *Is inveſted on all Sides,* 65. *A very great Famine,* 88. *Surrenders to the* Aghvans, 96. *Is in danger of ſuffering a ſecond Famine, and why,* 113

Jews, *the Daughters of that Nation are not admitted into the* Haram, I. 121. *They take Precedence at preſent in* Perſia *above the native* Perſians, II. 198

Julaver, *King of* Perſia, *ſucceeds* Jacup, I. 9

K.

KAGIARS, *good Troops, commonly employed to guard the Frontiers of* Perſia *on the* Turkiſh *Side*, II. 79. *A Body of five hundred* Kagiars *convey Prince* Thamas *out of* Iſpahan *during the Siege*, 79, 80. *An indiſcreet Demand of theirs ſows a Diviſion in Prince* Thamas's *Army*, 175

Karachirſis, *The Appellation of the moſt ſubtil Cheats in* Perſia, I. 118

Kardelans, (James Dominic) *born of one of the beſt Families of* Zulfa *near* Iſpahan, *put to the Rack by the* Aghvans, *and wherefore; how much Money in Specie the* Aghvans *found in his and his Brother's Poſſeſſion*, II. 52

Kaſin-Kan, *a* Perſian *Lord poſſeſſed of an hereditary Principality in* Arabia, *ſaves* Maghmud *when in great Danger*, II. 140

Kielenter, *or* Kelonter, *or* Kalenter, *chief of the* Armenian *Nation of* Zulfa; *Privilege of this Poſt*, II. 41

Kirman, *a Town ſurprized by* Maghmud, *and retaken by* Luft-Ali-Kan, I. 220. *Beſieged a ſecond time by* Maghmud, *who is obliged to raiſe the Siege*, II. 14

Kiſitbaſz, *a* Perſian *Militia, they oppoſe the Pretenſions of the* Kagiars, II. 176

Kiſveran, *the Year* 1701, *ſo called in* Perſia, *and why*, I. 120

Kiulpekient, *a City of* Perſia, *the Inhabitants whereof are* Armenians, *taken with its Citadel in one Day by the* Aghvans, II. 133

Kom, *a City where the Burial-place of the Kings of* Perſia *is.*——Aſzraff *ſends thither the Bodies*

dies of the Princes of the Blood, whom Maghmud *had maſſacred: In what manner the Conductor of the Convoy is received there,* II. 164. *is beſieged and taken by the* Aghvans, 176

Koſtrow-Kan, *Prince of* Georgia, *ſent with an Army againſt* Myrr-Weis, *is worſted and ſlain,* I. 190. *The Cauſes of the Miſcarriages of this Expedition,* 191. *A Deſcription of this Prince,* 198

Kourouk, *in* Perſia *what it is,* I. 23

[illegible] Krufinski (*Father* Jude) *Procurator of the Jeſuits in* Perſia, *accompanies the Biſhop of* Iſpahan *to his Audience, who abandons the Care of his Negotiation to him,* Pref. ii. *A Man of great Abilities, and eſteemed by* Schah-Huſſein's *Miniſters,* iii. *The only Jeſuit left in* Iſpahan, *where he was near periſhing for Hunger,* v. *Upon what Account he is ſent for to the* Aghvan *Army, and his Generoſity to his Deliverer,* iv. *Careſs'd by* Eſin Aghari, vi. *Lived twenty Years at* Iſpahan: *His Memoirs the Plan of this Hiſtory,* ii. *Relates nothing but what he ſaw, or had from the Miniſters of both Parties,* vii

Kullar, (Aghaſi) *Brother to the Prince of* Georgia, *and Son-in-law to the* Athemat-Doulet, *not included in his Diſgrace,* I. 255

Kurdes, *a People inhabiting the* Kurdiſtan, *and governed by a chief Dependant on* Perſia, *involved in the pretended Plot of the prime Miniſter,* I. 227

L.

LESGIANS, *a People living near Mount* Caucaſus *on the* Weſtern *Shore of the* Caſpian *Sea, a Tribute* Perſia *paid them under the*

the Name of Subſidies, I. 143. *Commit Devaſtations in* Perſia *upon account of their not being paid,* 242. *Are near being ſubdu'd by Prince* Vachtanga, 265. *A falſe Step of the* Perſian *Court whereby the Stroke is averted,* 268. *Their Pretence for riſing in Arms again at the End of three Months,* 270. *Make a ſudden Incurſion into the Province of* Szirvan, *and take* Szamachi, 272

Lorians, *a People living in Tents ſome Leagues from* Iſpahan. *Why their Enterprizes againſt the Rebels miſcarry,* I. 97

Luft-Ali-Kan, *Brother-in-Law to the prime Miniſter, appointed General of the Army which is ordered againſt the Rebels; his Character,* I. 218. *Fails in his Attempt upon the Iſland of* Maſcata *through the Fault of the Miniſters,* 219. *Retakes the City of* Kirman *from* Myrr-Maghmud, *who had taken it by Surprize,* 221. *Lays waſte the Lands belonging to the Court Lords along the* Perſian *Gulf, and why,* 222. *Returns with his Army to* Chiras, *and makes Preparations to go and lay Siege to* Candahar, 223. *Is arreſted at* Chiras *by an Order from Court, and ſent Priſoner to* Iſpahan, 230. *Is acknowledged to be innocent, yet for Reaſons of State is detained in Priſon, but his Eſtate is not confiſcated,* 256. *Riches and Favours heap'd on him by* Maghmud, *who had made himſelf Maſter of* Iſpahan; *he continues faithful to the Royal Family, and eſcapes out of* Iſpahan, 257. *Is retaken and delivered up to* Maghmud, *who cuts him to pieces with a Sabre,* 259

M.

MACHMET, *of the Nation of the* Bolvoz, *one of the Head Officers of the Army, ſpared by* Aſzraff, II. 170

Machmet-Kuli-Kan, *Prince of* Caket *in* Georgia, *and Son-in-law to the* Athemat-Doulet, *not included in his Diſgrace,* I. 255

Machmet-Wali, *Prince of* Hacvuſa *near* Candahar, *a Vaſſal of* Perſia, II. 31. *Commands the Army of* Perſia *jointly with the* Athemat-Doulet *at the Battel of* Giulnabat, II. 29. *His daily Allowance,* 60. *Is ſuſpected by the Court, and upon what Account,* 32. *Agrees with* Maghmud, *and evades all Opportunities of beating the Rebels,* 73. *His Treachery puniſhed by* Maghmud *himſelf, when he became Maſter of* Iſpahan, 101

Maeſſum-Beck, *Miniſter of* Thamas *King of* Perſia, *procures* Iſmael, *this King's Son to be impriſon'd,* I. 25

Maghmud, (Myrr) *ſecond Son to* Myrr-Weis, *brought up in his Father's Camp,* I. 207. *Beheads his Uncle, and gets himſelf choſen Chief and General of the* Aghvans, 208. *Makes War upon the* Aghvans *of* Haſarai, *and forces them to join with him againſt the* Perſians, 211. *Defeats the* Perſian *Army which is ſent againſt him, and kills the Generals,* 217. *Surpriſes the City of* Kirman, *is driven out of it, and put to Flight,* 220. *He was utterly ruin'd, had not the* Athemat-Doulet, *and* Luſt-Ali-Kan *been diſgraced,* II. 3. *His Preparations for a great Expedition,* 7. *Marches in order to lay Siege to* Kirman,

Kirman, 8. *The State of his Army*, 8, &c. *His ill Succeſs at this Siege, and is forſaken by* 14000 *Men, who return to* Candahar, 13 *He raiſes the Siege, and marches towards* Iſpahan, 14. *Wins the Battel of* Giulnabat, 23. *Thinks of returning, tho' Conqueror*, 25. *Keeps his Ground through the Court of* Perſia'*s Fault*, 23. *The Negotiations between* Maghmud *and the* Perſian *Court come to nothing by Faults on both Sides*, 35. *Loſes his Reputation at his firſt Attack of* Iſpahan, 57. *Attacks the Bridge of* Abuſabat, *but is repulſed with great Loſs*, 60. *Is for renewing the Treaty*, 61. *His Spies at Court encourage him*, 62. *He reſolves to beſiege* Iſpahan, 63. *Forces the Bridge of* Abuſabat, *and inveſts the City on all Sides*, 65. *Can take it by Famine only, and why*, 94. *Receives* Schah-Huſſein, *who reſigns the Crown in his favour*, 98. *Makes Examples of thoſe who betrayed tee Intereſt of the King to him*, 101. *In what Manner he regulates the Government of the Kingdom*, 103. *Orders the greateſt Part of the Nobility, and all the Military Men that were at* Iſpahan *to be maſſacred*, 108. *Loſes the greateſt Part of his Army in an Expedition*, 14. *Undertakes the Siege of* Jeſt, *and after ſuſtaining great Loſs, ſhamefully miſcarries*, 147. *Superſtitiouſly retreats to a ſubteraneous Grotto*, ibid. *Maſſacres the Princes of the Blood in the* Haram, 149. *Turns delirious in Sickneſs*, 150. *The Violence of his Diſtemper*, 152. *His Head cut off by Order of* Aſzraff *his Couſin German*, 156. *Character of him*, 159

Magiſtrates, *their Exactions in the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, I. 110

Mahomet-Pacha, *a* Turkiſh *General, ſent to ſucceed* Sinan-Pacha, *is defeated in* Georgia, I. 32

Mary, *a Name often aſſum'd by the* Perſian *Ladies, and the Origin of this Cuſtom,* I. 128

Maſcata, *an Iſland in the* Perſian *Gulph. An Expedition againſt this Iſland unſucceſsful by a Fault of the* Perſian *Miniſters, who impute it to the* Athemat-Doulet, I. 219

Melik-Maghmud, *a Prince and Vaſſal of* Perſia, *raiſes the Siege of* Meſzat, *and afterwards makes himſelf Maſter of it.* II. 182

Meſzat, *or* Meched, *a City to which the* Perſians *make a famous Pilgrimage,* I. 75. *Upon what Account* Schah-Abas *the Great inſtituted this Pilgrimage,* I. 160. Schah-Huſſein *goes this Pilgrimage, with a Retinue of Sixty thouſand Men,* 127. *Taken by* Melik-Maghmud, II. 182

Meter, *The Nature of this Poſt, which is always executed by an Eunuch,* I. 78

Miangi, *an* Indian, *Governor to* Maghmud *during his Minority. His Sway in the Council of the Rebels,* II. 29. *He motions an Advice concerning the Propoſals from the Court, which is follow'd,* 31. *The great Reſpect paid him by* Maghmud, Aſzraff *confiſcates his Eſtate, yet proves more favourable to him,* 169

Militia. *State of the Troops kept on foot by the Kings of* Perſia, II. 80

Mogul, (Great) *the City of* Candahar *deliver'd up to him,* I. 140. *He loſes it, endeavours to retake it, but in vain,* 143. *Sends* *an Ambaſſador to demand the Reſtitution of it,* 181

Money, (*Copper*) *Which the Governors of Provinces in* Perſia *coin in their Governments. Miſchiefs ariſing from this Practice,* I. 89

Moratcham, *Brother to* Alvante *King of* Perſia, *is defeated by* Iſmael, I. 16. *Loſes another Battel, and flies to the Sultan of* Ægypt, 17

Mordecai, *His Tomb,* II. 141

Mother *of* Myrr-Maghmud, *the Figure ſhe made at her Entry into* Iſpahan, II. 117. *In what Manner treated by* Aſzraff, 170

Mothers *who kill and eat their Children during* [illegible] *the Famine at* Iſpahan, II. 90

Moullah, *or Almoner to the King, he ruins the prime Miniſter by a Slander,* I. 225

Mubatek-Aga, *an Eunuch, how* Schah-Solyman *was obliged to him for the Crown,* I. 55

Multani, *or* Multoni, *what it is, and the Rank they bear in* Perſia *at preſent,* II 195

Murſchid-Kuli-Kan, *Governor to* Schah-Abas the Great *during his Minority, procures him the Crown, by murdering* Iſmael III. I. 34 *Is himſelf kill'd by* Schah-Abas, *after he was King, for aſſuming too great Command over him,* 36

Muſcovites, *their Conqueſts in* Perſia, II. 177

Muſellim-Sade, *a famous* Perſian *Poet. An ingenious Fable of his compoſing,* I. 119

Muſtapha, *a* Turkiſh *Grand-Vizir, is depos'd at his Return from* Perſia, *and kills himſelf,* I. 31

Muza-Caim, *or* Mouſſa-Kaiſem, *a Deſcendant of* Ali, *from whom the Family of the* Sophy's *pretend to be deſcended,* 4

N.

NAſackci, *or* Pechluvan, *Names of the beſt Troops among the* Aghvans, *their Manner of fighting,* I. 149

Naſir-Ulla, *a great General in the* Aghvans *Army, takes* Zulfa, II. 48. *His Expedition into divers Parts of* Perſia, 113. *Sent to beſiege* Chiras, *and is kill'd in the Attempt,* 122. *His Character,* 124. *A Parallel betwixt him and* Aſzraff, *as to their military Qualities,* 155

Nations, *the Subordination there is among them in* Perſia; *and their Rank as ſettled by* Aſzraff, II. 197

Nobility, (Perſian) *maſſacred at* Iſpahan, *by Order of* Maghmud, II. 108. *The remaining Few put to death by* Aſzraff, 174

O.

OLearius *miſtaken as to the Reigns of* Emir, Hemſe *and* Iſmael, I. 33

Orii, (Iſrael) *an* Armenian, *Ambaſſador from the* Czar *in* Perſia, *His Adventures,* I. 174. *How he obtains this Embaſſy,* ibid. *The Court of* Perſia *alarm'd at this Embaſſy,* 175 *The Service it was of to* Myrr-Weis, 178. *Returns, and afterwards dies at* Aſtracan, ibid.

Oſman-Pacha, *Commander of the* Ottoman *Troops, is kill'd at the Siege of* Tauris, II. 179

P.

PEACE, (*Treaty of*) *concluded betwixt the* Grand-Signior, *and* Aſzraff, II. 194

Perſians. *The phlegmatick Temper of the* Perſian *Nobility*, I. 117. *Indolence of the* Perſians, II. 114. *Are at this time degraded below all the Nations in* Perſia, 198

Perſian *Gulph*, *The* Aghvans *almoſt deſtroy'd by a Mortality in an Excurſion they made thither*, II. 129

Phœmomenon, *an uncommon one which was ſeen at* Iſpahan *in* 1721, *and was look'd upon as a Preſage of ſome approaching Calamity*, I. 272

Pilgrimage *to* Mecca *enjoined by the* Mahometan *Religion. The Method* Schah-Abas the Great *took to draw his Subjects off from it*, I. 159.

Portugeze (*the*) *aſſiſt* Thamas *King of* Perſia, *who by their Means overcomes the* Turks *in a great Battel*, I. 23. Schah-Abas the Great, *by the help of an* Engliſh *Fleet*, *takes the Iſle of* Ormus *from them*, 245

Princes *of the Blood*, *when the Cuſtom began of keeping them ſhut up in the* Haram, I. 44.

Pultowa, (*Battel of*) I. 179

Pyrchalim, *ſaves* Iſmael *after the Death of his Father* Schich-Eidar, *and educates him in his Family*, I, 12.

R.

RAders, *Patrouls for the Safety of the Highways in* Perſia, *eſtabliſh'd by* Schah-Abas the Great, I. 114

Radery, *the Name of the Toll paid to them,* ibid.

Rafi, *the Name of a Sect diſtinguiſhing the Followers of* Ali *from thoſe of* Omar, I. 161

Revolution, *a Chonological Series of the chief Events of it,* Pref. xv

Reza (Iman) *a pretended Saint of the Sect of* Ali, *worſhip'd at* Meſzat, I. 160

Robberies, *the Governors of Towns were anſwerable for them before the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, I. 114

Robbers, *rare in* Perſia *before the ſaid Reign, and increaſed in his Reign by the Toleration and Connivance of the Governors,* 116

Roſthom-Kan (Mirza) *Brother to the Prince of* Georgia, *is ſlain at the Battel of* Giulnabat, II. 22

Ruſtan, *King of* Perſia, *ſucceeds* Bayſinger, I. 9. *Gets* Schioh-Eidar *aſſaſſinated,* 10. *Is kill'd by* Agmat, *who ſucceeds him,* 11

S.

SAIN-Mirza *Son of* Sefi-Mirza, *and Son of* Abas the Great, *ſucceeds him under the Name of* Sefi, I. 42

Salmas-Mirza, *chief Miniſter to* Codabende, *renders his Son ſuſpected to him, who is convicted of the Slander, and his Head is cut off,* I. 35

Santons, *the Prieſts among the* Aghvans, *diſtinguiſh'd from the Laity by not cutting their Hair,* I. 148

Sanazarli-Kan, *Prince of* Georgia, *a Refugee in* Moſcovy, I. 180

Sava, *a City of* Perſia, II. 176

Schah-Zade, *or Sons of Kings, Families that aſſume this Title. The too great Number of them renders them contemptible,* I. 122

Sedre, *the* Perſian *Pontiff, puniſh'd by* Schah-Abas II. *and why,* I. 52

Sefi, (Schah) *King of* Perſia, *ſucceeds* Abas the Great, *was called* Sain-Mirza *before he came to the Crown,* I. 43. *His Reign extremely cruel,* 45. *Is poiſoned by ſome Women of the* Haram. *Orders near forty of them to be buried alive, and does not ſpare even his own Mother,* 46. *Loſes* Bagdat *and* Candahar, *and both by his own Fault,* ibid. *Ruins* Amurat's *Army, and how,* II. 16. *Dies young, and to what his Death was attributed,* I. 48

Sefi-Kuli-Kan, *being appointed to command the Army againſt the Rebels, refuſes it,* I. 214. *His only Son, tho' very young, is named in his Place,* 215. *He accompanies him in this Expedition, wherein they both loſe their Lives,* 217

Sefi-Mirza, *Eldeſt Son to* Schah-Abas the Great, *put to death by his Father's Order,* I. 42

Sefi-Mirza, *Eldeſt Son to* Schah-Huſſein, *prefers a private Life to the Crown. Eſcapes out of the* Haram, *in* 1725. *The cruel Conſequences of his Eſcape,* II. 149

Seidal, *one of the* Aghvan *Generals, is twice deſerted by Prince* Thamas, II. 152, 173

Selim, *Emperor of the* Turks, *makes War with* Iſmael. *Events of this War,* I. 17

Sinan-Pacha, *Prime Vizier of* Conſtantinople, *being ſent into* Perſia, *deſires to be recalled,* I. 31

Senderou, *a River that runs near* Iſpahan, *its Water not drinkable for a Year after the Siege,* II. 91

Sobieski. (John III.) *King of* Poland, *to what Degree dreaded in* Perſia *after raiſing the*

Siege of Vienna. *A Saying of* Schah-Solyman *King of* Perſia *about it*, I. 130

Solyman (Schah) *King of* Perſia, *ſucceeds* Schah Abas II. *his Father, and is obliged to an Eunuch for it*, I. 55. *At firſt he was called* Sefi; *upon what Account he changed his Name for that of* Solyman, 57. *He puts one of his Sons to death*, I. 60. *Leaves the Eunuchs to name which of his two Sons ſhall ſucceed him*, 163. *Was a worthleſs Prince, and very cruel, eſpecially when drunk, which he was very ſubject to be*, 57. *His Death*, 58

Solyman II. *Emperor of the* Turks, *takes* Tauris *and* Babylon, I. 21. *Is defeated by* Deliment, *General of the* Perſian *Army*, 22. *At his Return to* Conſtantinople, *he puts to death his Favourite* Ibrahim Pacha *for having engaged him in this War*, 22. *He renews the War twelve Years after his firſt Expedition*, 22. *Is defeated in a Battel, with the Loſs of one hundred and thirty thouſand Men, and is himſelf wounded*, 23

Sons *of the Kings of* Perſia, *in what manner educated*, I. 66. *When the Cuſtom began of keeping them ſhut up in the* Haram, 44. *Daughters of the Kings of* Perſia, *their Education in the* Haram, I. 70

Sophy, *a Name given in* Europe *to the Kings of* Perſia *of the laſt Line that has reign'd*, I. 1

Sophy, *Great-Grandfather to* Iſmael *King of* Perſia, *and the firſt of that Family of whom there is any Knowledge*, I. 4

Stud-keeper, *ſucceſsfully attacks the* Aghvan *Army*, II. 114

Sunny. *The Name of a Sect diſtinguiſhing the Followers of* Omar *from thoſe of* Ali, I. 161

Syſtan, *a well fortified Caſtle upon the Road from* Candahar *to* Iſpahan. *A Place of great Importance, and neglected by the* Perſians, II. 118

Szamachi, *the Capital City of the Province of* Szirvan *taken by the* Leſgians, I. 183

Szicheliglam, *the High-Prieſt of* Perſia, *excommunicates the* Turks, *as the Muſti had excommunicated the* Perſians, I. 171

T.

TAURIS, *at that time the Capital City of* Perſia, *opens its Gates to* Iſmael, I. 15. *Taken twice by* Solyman II. *Emperor of the* Turks, 21, 22. *Afflicted with an Earthquake, whereby fourſcore thouſand Souls periſhed*, I. 272. *Taken by Storm by the* Turks *in* 1725, *and the great Slaughter there*, II. 179

Tavernier, *His Voyage to* Perſia, Pref. xvii

Tehran, *a City in* Perſia *incloſed with good Walls, which is uncommon in that Kingdom*, I. 239. *The prime Miniſter's Diſgrace fell out here*, I. 230. *The Troops of* Aſzraff *unſucceſsful in their Attempt upon this Place*, II. 176

Thamas, *Son of* Iſmael *King of* Perſia, *how one muſt form a Judgment of him*, I. 19. *At what Age he came to the Crown*, 20. *Maintains a War againſt* Solyman *Emperor of the* Turks, 21. *Maintains another War againſt the ſame Emperor, and overcomes him in a great Battel*, 23. *Settles his Reſidence at* Casbin *inſtead of* Tauris, *and wherefore*, 23. *Dies, and appoints his third Son his Succeſſor, who, however, did not ſucceed him*, 24

Thamas, *the third Son of* Schah-Huſſein, *is taken out of the* Haram, *and paſſes thro' the Enemy, whilſt they beſieg'd* Iſpahan, *in* *in order to gather together ſome Auxiliaries againſt the Rebels,* II. 79. *Is ſuſpected of neglecting to ſuccour* Iſpahan, *and wherefore,* 83. *Unadviſedly makes War upon* Vachtanga, *Prince of* Georgia, 130. *At firſt oppreſſes the* Armenians; *is beaten by them; he regains them, and they prove very ſerviceable to him,* 131. *Gains a great Victory over the* Turks, *and relieves* Tauris, *which they had beſieged. This Victory falſly attributed to the* Aghvans *in the News-Papers,* 141. *Beats one of* Maghmud's *Generals,* 152. *Beats him again,* 173. *Treats with* Aſzraff *whilſt he lay impriſon'd,* 171. *Is very near being ſurpriz'd by* Aſzraff, 145. *Oblig'd to retire into* Maſandran, *upon a Diſſention that ariſes in his Army,* 176. *Grows quite ſpiritleſs ſince the Treaty concluded between* Aſzraff *and the* Porte, 194

Thchehel-Setoon, *a ſtately Hall, burnt in the Time of* Schah-Huſſein, *and rebuilt by him with more Magnificence,* I. 126

Timariots *in* Turkey, II. 81

Toman, *what it is, and the Value thereof,* xvii

Tombs *of* Mordecai *and* Eſther *at* Amadan, II. 141

Tranſmigrations *of the* Aghvans *to* Iſpahan, II. 117

Tributes *in* Perſia, *pretty moderate,* I. 109. *The Amount of the Tribute commonly paid by the City of* Candahar *to the Kings of* Perſia, 145

Turks, *their Conqueſts in* Perſia, *in the late Revolution,* II. 186. *Declare War againſt* Aſzraff, *and upon what Account,* 190. *Their Expeditions againſt* Aſzraff *miſcarry, being twice defeated* *ſeated by* Aſzraff, 191. *Loſe a great Convoy which they were ſending to* Perſia, *thro' the* Black *Sea. The Number of Men they loſt in this War. Conclude a Peace with* Aſzraff, 194

U.

VAchtanga, *Prince of* Georgia, *a fine Saying of this Prince*, I. 104. *Refuſes to turn* Mahometan *to enjoy his Principality, and is baniſh'd*, 263. *Turns* Mahometan *at laſt, and is reinſtated in his Principality*, 264. *He is on the Point of deſtroying the* Leſgians, *but is reſtrained from it, by an Order from Court*, 267. *The haughty Manner of ſignifying this Order to him, and the Oath he made on this Occaſion*, 268. Schah-Huſſein, *beſieg'd at* Iſpahan, *ſollicits him in vain to come to his help*, II. 76. *Is chaſtis'd for refuſing, being driven out of his Dominions by the* Turks, *and flies to* Petersburgh *for Refuge*, 77

Weis, (Myrr) *Father of* Myrr-Maghmud, *was the firſt Fomenter of the Rebellion, was rich, and of a good Family*, I. 149. *His Poſt at* Candahar, 153. *The Governor at* Candahar *ſuſpecting him ſends him to Court. An Advice the Governor gives the King concerning him*, 154. *His Behaviour and Management at the Court of* Perſia *gains him the Love of all the Courtiers*, 158. *Obtains Leave to go a Pilgrimage to* Mecca, 162. *His political Views in this Pilgrimage*, 165. *He propoſes Caſes of Conſcience to the Doctors of* Mecca, 167. *The Deciſion thereof favourable to him*, 172. *Returns from* Mecca *to* Iſpahan, *and increaſes his Intereſt there*, 173. Myrr-Weis's *Stay at* Iſpahan, *in what manner prejudicial*

judicial to Perſia, 172. *Gets himſelf ſent back to* Candahar *as the Court's Confident*, 182. *Aſſaſſinates the Governor there, maſſacres the* Georgian *Troops, and is choſen Prince of* Candahar, 183. *Diſſembles his Rebellion, and deceives the Court*, 187. *Overthrows an Army which is ſent againſt him*, 197. *Dies at* Candahar, 202. *The Advice he gives his Countrymen at the Point of Death*, 206. *His Brother, Father to* Aſzraff, *ſucceeds him at* Candahar, 202. *Seeks to come to an Accommodation with* Perſia, 203. *Is kill'd in his Bed by* Maghmud, *Son to* Myrr-Weis, 207

Ulama, *a* Perſian *Lord, Brother-in-law to* Thamas *King of* Perſia, *flies for Refuge to* Solyman, *and induces him to undertake a War againſt* Perſia, I. 21

Z.

ZEberdeſt-Kan, *One of the Generals of the* Aghvans, *his Origin*, II. 119. *Succeſs of his Expedition in the Neighbourhood of* Iſpahan, 119. *Sent to carry on the Siege of the City of* Chiras, 125. *Takes it by Storm*, 128. *Is arreſted together with the chief Officers of the Army by Order of* Aſzraff. *Is freed and ſent to his Government of* Chiras, *and why*, 169

Zulfa, *a large Town inhabited by* Armenians *near* Iſpahan, *its Extent*, II. 42. *Is obliged to treat with the Rebels*, 48. *Is forc'd to deliver up fifty young Virgins of the beſt Families in the Place, and what became of them*, 49. *Is ſack'd by the Rebels*, 51. *Its Condition very much mended ſince the Revolution*, II. 198

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